HISTORY OF THE DECCAN

VOL. I

J.D.B. GRIBBLE

LONDON
1896

A

HISTORY OF THE DECCAN.

BY

J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH PORTRAITS, MAPS, PLATES & ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
LUZAC & Co.
Publishers to the India Office.
1896.

A

HISTORY OF THE DECCAN.

H. H. THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD.
G. C. S. I.

PREFACE.

THE Deccan may be roughly described as that portion of Southern India which is bounded by the Vindhya Mountains and the River Godavery to the North, and by the Tungabadhra and Kistna Rivers to the South; the Ghâts or mountain ranges which skirt the seacoast on either side being the Eastern and Western limits. It embraces an area about equal in extent to that of Great Britain and Ireland, and is a high-lying plateau with an elevation of from 1000′ to 2000′ above the sea. Previous to the Mahomedan invasion there exists no authentic record of the history of the Deccan beyond inscriptions and architectural remains. It is known that it contained rich and flourishing Kingdoms, but we know little of the conditions of the country, beyond what can be gathered from a name, a grant, a date or a coin. The Mahomedans did not venture South of the Vindhyas until the end of the 13th century. Their armies, commanded by generals of the Delhi Sultans, met with but little effectual resistance. But though they marched through the Deccan to the Southernmost limits of the Indian Peninsula, their invasions were for the purpose of plunder and not of occupation. They bent but they did not break; and as soon as the foreign army retired, the native Hindoo States at once sprang back to independence. Although there was a Mahomedan Governor at Deogiri (Dowlatabad), there was but a slender connecting link between him and Delhi. Towards the end of the first half of the 14th century this link was broken by the tyranny and oppression of Sultan Mahomed Toghlak; the Mahomedan generals and governors in the Deccan revolted; distance and

internal dissensions prevented all interference on the part of the Delhi Sultans, and the result was that an independent Mahomedan Kingdom was established in the Deccan which lasted for more than 300 years. Of this Kingdom, subsequently divided into five, there exists no connected or continuous history. To Ferishta we owe almost all that we know of this period, and the information he gives us is to be found scattered, and in a greatly condensed form, in the various histories of India. A historian, however voluminous his work may be, when treating of a country as large as India is, with its huge population and its numerous races and peoples, has neither time nor space to give more than a broad outline. The interest centers round certain prominent figures, but outside this circle everything is confused. There is a luxuriant Eastern jungle of change names and events which must be recorded, but which like meteors, simply flash across the eye, and then disappear leaving no trace behind. Occasionally these broad outlines have been filled in. Historians such as *Tod*, *Wilks* and *Grant Duff*, have cleared pieces of this huge jungle, and have enclosed each with a ring fence. This has been done for Rajputana, for Mysore and for the Mahrattas, but has not yet been attempted for the Deccan.

I was first struck with the necessity of a work of this kind by a conversation with the son of a Hyderabad Nobleman who had just finished his studies in the Nizam's College. I asked him who was the first of the Bahmanee Sultans of Gulburga, and he said that he did not know there had been any. He was equally ignorant of the fate of the last King of Golconda, although the remains of the old royal fortress are within an hour's drive of the city where he lived! In our Indian schools and colleges we teach the broad outlines of Indian history, but we pay very little attention to the details of the history of the different provinces. Now it seems to me that it is as essential for a Deccan boy to know something of the early history of that part of the country in which he lives, as it is for him to know about Akbar, Aurungzebe, Clive or Warren Hastings. In the same way a Poonah boy should be thoroughly grounded in the history of the Mahrattas, and a Bangalore boy in that of Mysore. In the schools of Europe

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Introductory	1
II.	The Origin of the Bahmanee Kings of Gulburga	14
III.	The Rise of the Hindoo Kingdom of Vijayanagar, and the End of the first Gulburga Sultan	23
IV.	The Gulburga Sultans.—Muhammad Shah	34
V.	The Gulburga Sultans from 1374—1397, A.D.	47
VI.	Sultans Ghazi-ud-Din and Shums-ud-Din	56
VII.	The City and Kingdom of Vijayanagar	60
VIII.	Sultans Feroze Shah and Ahmed Shah	74
IX.	Sultan Allah-ud-Din II	97
X.	Humayun the Cruel	109
XI.	Sultans Nizam Shah and Muhammed Shah	113
XII.	The End of the House of Bahmanee	128

PART II.

History of Bijapur and of the Deccan down to its Subjugation by Aurungzebe (A. D. 1500—1680).

XIII.	Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur	137
XIV.	The Nizams of Ahmednagar	150
XV.	Bijapur from 1509—1534. Ismael Adil Shah	156
XVI.	The Kingdoms of Berar and Golconda and Continuation of Bijapur	179
XVII.	The Fall of Vijayanagar	186
XVIII.	Ahmednagar and Bijapur from the Fall of Vijayanagar till the Death of Ali Adil Shah (1580)	199
XIX.	The story of Queen Chand and the Fall of Ahmednagar	211
XX.	Retrospective Sketch of the Deccan	242
XXI.	The Story of Malick Amber	251
XXII.	The Beginning of the End	263
XXIII.	The End of Bijapur	286
XXIV.	The Fall of Golconda.—A.D. 1686	297

PART III.

The Empire in Ruins.

XXV.	The King-Makers	312
XXVI.	The End of the King-Makers and the Birth of a new Kingdom	365
	Appendix	383

A detailed list of all the Illustrations, Maps, Plans, Genealogical Tables, etc., contained in the two volumes, along with an Index to the complete work, will be inserted at the end of the second volume.

a boy goes through a detailed course of the history of his own country and is only given a general outline of the history of other nations. In India, the reverse seems to be the case. A general system is laid down for the whole of India, which does not embrace local and provincial history. The present volume therefore is an attempt to make Deccan readers more familiar with the history of their own country. Bearing this object in view, I have endeavoured to collect the fragments to be found in the various histories, and to piece them together, so as to form a connected history of the Deccan from the commencement of the 14th century up to the establishment of the present dynasty. This period of nearly 400 years is full of the most interesting and romantic episodes. Sir Henry Elliot's and Professor Dowson's most admirable history is a storehouse of raw material of which as yet but little use has been made, and the Bombay Gazetteers of the different Deccan Districts are replete with researches, archæological, historical and local, which comparatively unknown beyond an official circle, furnish admirable materials for a detailed history of the Deccan. These materials, old and new, I have made use of without scruple. I can claim nothing of originality; — in a history the absence of this quality is perhaps desirable — and what I have attempted is merely a collation of historical events relating to the Deccan from the time of the Mahomedan invasion.

It only remains for me to acknowledge the sources from which my information has been drawn. To Ferishta, as translated by Scott, a book which is now becoming scarce, my first thanks are due. The different historians collected by Elliot and Dowson, throw from time to time considerable light upon Deccan affairs, and I have transcribed from them *verbatim* whenever occasion required. My thanks are also due to the Bombay Government for permission to make use of the material provided in their most excellent Gazetteers of Kanara, Bijapur and Ahmednagar, a permission of which I have gladly availed myself. Colonel Meadows Taylor's historical romance of "A Noble queen" has enabled me to go at some length into a most interesting episode of Bijapur history, and the "Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's

Dominions" by Messrs. Wilmott and Seyd Hoossein Belgrami, has enabled me to give a description of those places which I have not been able to visit in person. To Mr. Herrman Linde my most cordial thanks are due for the beautiful original sketches with which he has so kindly provided me, and the excellent photographs of the Deccan cities have been furnished by the well-known photographer Mr. Lala Deen Dayal of Secunderabad and Sudore, whilst those of the Vijayanagar ruins are from Mr. Nicholas of Madras. Some of the portraits have been reproduced from a collection of old paintings found in the royal city of Bieder, and the genealogy of H.H. the Nizam (who has graciously accepted the dedication of the work) was kindly furnished to me from the palace by Nawab Sarvar Jung the Peshi Secretary to His Highness.

J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

Hyderabad (*Deccan*)
October, 1895.

TO

H. H. THE NIZAM

OF

HYDERABAD.

G. C. S. I.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR.

Roeloffzen & Hubner.
Printers,
Amsterdam (Holland).

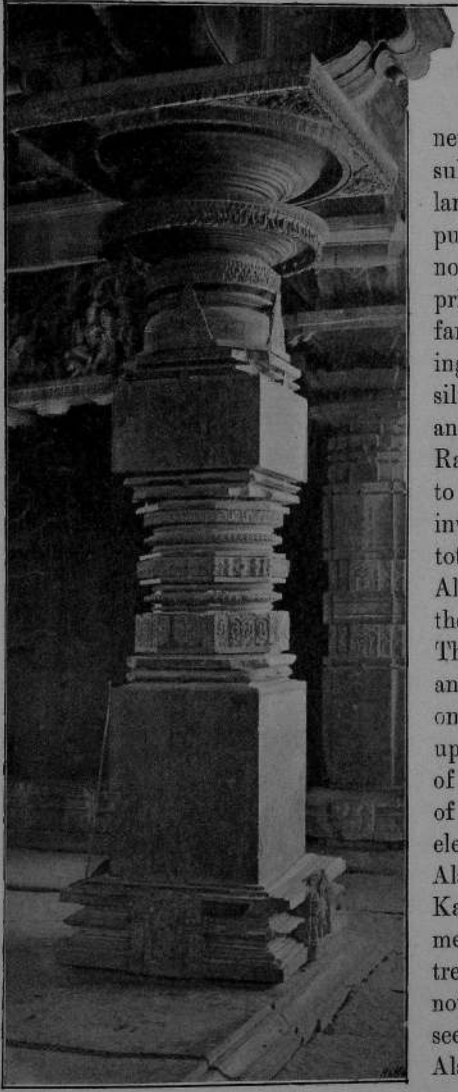
CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

UP to the end of the thirteenth century the Mahomedans had not invaded the Deccan. It was to them an unknown country peopled by pagan idolaters, as they called them. Scarcely anything is known of the inner condition of the vast country in which are included the Deccan and Carnatic of modern times. There seems to be some doubt regarding the origin of the name itself, and it is supposed by some to be derived from the *Dandaka* or forest to which Rama went into voluntary banishment, but the most probable derivation is that Deccan is a corruption of *Dakkhin* the Prakrit form of the Sanscrit Dakshin, the left or south. The country was occupied by many ancient Hindoo kingdoms, the history and origin of which are lost. The two northernmost of these kingdoms had their capitals at Deogiri and Warangal. The former extended to the western coast, and far away south to Mysore, and the latter included Orissa and probably all the Telugu-speaking districts of Hyderabad and Madras. That these kingdoms were very great and powerful there can be no doubt, but there remain now nothing but ruins, which, however, are sufficient to show how advanced they were in civilisation. Deogiri, the modern Dowlatabad, was not only a

large city but an important fortress, supposed to be impregnable. The wonderful caves of Ellora and Ajunta show how advanced was the art of architecture; and in Warangal the remains of immense irrigation tanks and channels show that the rulers of the country devoted great attention to the improvement of agriculture. In both these cities there were enormous accumulations of wealth, consisting of gold, precious stones, and elephants, all of which were found within their own boundaries. The people appear to have been brave, happy, and prosperous, and from west to east there were scattered about numerous holy shrines which brought together thousands of pilgrims. It was this wealth that attracted the cupidity of the Mahomedans.

In the year 1294 Ala-ud-Din was the governor of the Bengal provinces. He was the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultan of Delhi—Jelal-ud-Din—and was an ambitious, cruel man. He had heard stories of the wealth which was stored up in the cities of the idolatrous Hindoos, and, taking religion as his excuse, he determined to plunder them. In reality, what he wanted the riches for was to use them as a means of gaining his father-in-law's throne. Without mentioning his project to the emperor, Ala-ud-Din marched southwards with a large army, and was absent for more than a year. During this time no one knew what had become of him, but there were vague rumours that he was fighting with the Hindoos in Deogiri. This, indeed, was the case, and for a great part of this time he was besieging the fortress of Deogiri, afterwards Dowlatabad. This fortress is situated on an isolated hill, 640 feet in height. The hill is cone-shaped, and in addition to the steepness of the rock it was very strongly fortified with walls, bastions, and moats. There were in reality three distinct forts, one within another, and at the foot was the city which was the centre of a considerable trade. At the time of Ala-ud-Din's invasion, Ram Deo was king of Deogiri. Zia-ud-Din



Barni, the Mahomedan historian, says: "The people of that country had never heard of the Mussulmans; the Mahratta land had never been punished by their armies; no Mussulman king or prince had penetrated so far. Deogiri was exceedingly rich in gold and silver, jewels and pearls, and other valuables." Ram Deo sent an army to meet the Mahomedan invader, but it was totally defeated, and Ala-ud-Din then invested the fortress of Deogiri. The fort was not taken, and the Rajah saved it only by agreeing to give up an immense amount of treasure, consisting of gold, jewels and elephants, with which Ala-ud-Din returned to Karra, his seat of government. So great was this treasure that it is said nothing had ever been seen like it before, and Ala-ud-Din used it to win

over as many to his side as possible. When the Emperor Jelal-ud-Din heard that his son-in-law had returned after so successful a campaign, he sent to congratulate him and to ask why he did not come to Delhi to report the circumstances in person. Ala-ud-Din replied, that, having gone away without permission, he was afraid the Emperor would be angry with him, and therefore he had not ventured to come to Delhi, but if the Emperor would come and see him, it would satisfy the minds of his officers that no harm was intended to them, and he would then introduce them to the Emperor, and at the same time hand over to him the treasure which he had brought. The poor old Emperor, suspecting nothing, and anxious, perhaps, to receive the wonderful treasure of which he had heard so much, fell into the trap thus laid for him. He sent word that he would start at once, and, so as to show that he had no evil intentions, would come with only a slight retinue. Karra is situated on the Ganges, and was some five or six days' journey form Kilu-gadhi, where the Emperor was then encamped. Without listening to the advice of his counsellors, the Emperor set off on this journey in a boat, accompanied only by a few personal attendants and a body-guard of a thousand horse. The historian Barni thus relates the tragedy that followed: "Ala-ud-Din and his followers had determined on the course to be adopted before the Sultan arrived. He had crossed the river with the elephants and treasure, and had taken post with his forces between Manikpur and Karra, the Ganges being very high. When the royal ensign came in sight he was all prepared, the men were armed, and the elephants and horses were harnessed. Ala-ud-Din sent his brother Almas Beg in a small boat to the sultan, with directions to use every device to induce him to leave behind the thousand men he had brought with him, and to come with only a few personal attendants. The traitor Almas Beg hastened to the Sultan and perceived several boats full of horsemen around

him. He told the Sultan that his brother had left the city, and God only knew where he would have gone to, if he (Almas Beg) had not been sent to him. If the Sultan did not make more haste to meet him, he would kill himself, and his treasure would be plundered. If his brother were to see these armed boats with the Sultan he would destroy himself. The Sultan accordingly directed that the horsemen and boats should remain by the side of the river, whilst he, with two boats and a few personal attendants and friends, passed over to the other side. When the two boats had started and the Angel of Destiny had come still nearer, the traitor Almas Beg desired the Sultan to direct his attendants to lay aside their arms, lest his brother should see them as he approached nearer, and be frightened. The Sultan, about to become a martyr, did not detect the drift of this insidious proposition, but directed his followers to disarm. As the boats reached mid-stream, the army of Ala-ud-Din was perceived, all under arms, the elephants and horses harnessed, and in several places troops of horsemen ready for action. When the nobles who accompanied the Sultan saw this, they knew that Almas Beg had by his plausibility brought his patron into a snare, and they gave themselves up as lost. Malik Khuram asked: "What is the meaning of all this?" and Almas Beg, seeing that his treachery was detected, said his brother was anxious that his army should pay homage to his master.

The Sultan was so blinded by his destiny, that although his own eyes saw the treachery, he would not return, but he said to Almas Beg: "I have come so far in a little boat to meet your brother, cannot he, and does not his heart induce him to advance to meet me with due respect?" The traitor replied: "My brother's intention is to await your majesty at the landing-place with the elephants and treasure and jewels, and there to present his officers." The Sultan, trusting implicitly in them, who were his nephews, sons-in-law, and foster-children,

did not awake and detect the obvious intention. He took the Koran and read it, and proceeded fearless and confiding as a father to his sons. All the people who were in the boat with him saw death plainly before them, and began to repeat the chapter appropriate to men in sight of death. The Sultan reached the shore before afternoon prayer, and disembarked with a few followers. Ala-ud-Din advanced to receive him, he and all his officers showing due respect. When he reached the Sultan he fell at his feet, and the Sultan, treating him as a son, kissed his eyes and cheeks, stroked his beard, gave him two loving taps upon the cheek, and said: "I have brought thee up from infancy, why art thou afraid of me?" The Sultan took Ala-ud-Din's hand, and at that moment the stony-hearted traitor gave the fatal signal. Muhammad Salim of Samana, a bad fellow of a bad family, struck at the Sultan with a sword, but the blow fell short and cut his own hand. He again struck and wounded the Sultan, who ran towards the river, crying: "Ah! thou villain, Ala-ud-Din, what hast thou done?" Iktiyár-ud-Din Hud ran after the betrayed monarch, threw him down, and cut off his head and bore it dripping with blood to Ala-ud-Din. Some of those persons who accompanied the Sultan had landed, and others remained in the boats, but all were slain. Villainy and treachery and murderous feelings, covetousness and desire of riches, thus did their work." This happened on the 17th Ramazan 695. H. equal to A. D. 1296, and Ala-ud-Din at once ascended the throne and marched upon Delhi. The fatal treasure was largely used to make men forget the terrible tragedy that had been enacted on the banks of the Ganges. Every day five maunds of golden stars were discharged by a kind of engine amongst the people in front of the royal tent, and from far and near people flocked to his camp in order to share in the wealth that was being scattered about. Delhi was entered in the midst of a magnificent display, and there still remained enough of the gold to fill the treasury

as it had never been filled before. Purses and bags filled with gold coins (*tankas*) were distributed, and men gave themselves up to dissipation and enjoyment. "Ala-ud-Din, in the pride of youth, prosperity, and boundless wealth, proud also of his army and his followers, his elephants, and his horses, plunged into dissipation and pleasure."

As was only natural, Ala-ud-Din was not likely to forget the place which had furnished him with the means of winning a throne. There must be more left in the country from which so much had already come. Deogiri had not been sacked and the Rajah had only bought off the invaders with a portion of his wealth. Besides, Warangal had not been touched, and, if rumours were true, this city was even wealthier than Deogiri. People said that in Telingana, of which Warangal was the capital, there were gold and diamond mines. It was a religious duty to take these treasures from the hands of infidels, and accordingly, in the year 1308 A. D. an army was sent to Deogiri, the Rajah of which had rebelled and had sent no tribute for several years. This time Deogiri was taken, and with it an immense amount of treasure. The Rajah with his family were sent as prisoners to Delhi, where they did homage to the Sultan, and were then pardoned.

Next year (1309) another expedition was sent to Warangal, the Rajah of which was called Rai Laddar Deo by the Mahomedan historians, but whose real name was Pratapa Rudra Deva. Malik Naib Kafur was appointed in command of this army, and his instructions were not to press the Rajah too hard, but to content himself with getting as much treasure as he could, with a promise of tribute in the future. The march lasted for more than three months and was through a wild and hitherto unknown country. Every day, we are told, it passed a new river until at length it reached the Nerbuddah, "which was such that you might say it was a remnant of the deluge." The Deogiri territories were respected

as being those of a dependent, but when the fort of Sarbar was reached, which belonged to the Telingana country, it was taken by storm and the whole of the inhabitants were killed. "Every one threw himself, with his wife and children, upon the flames, and departed to hell," and those who escaped the fire were put to the sword. Soon after, the army arrived near Warangal, and an advance force was sent to occupy "the hill of An Makinda, for from that all the edifices and gardens of Warangal can be seen" (*Amir Khusru, Tarikh-i-'Alai*). This clearly refers to the hill of Hanumkunda, which is situated about four miles from the ruins of the ancient fort of Warangal. The city was surrounded by a double wall of fortifications, the outer one of mud and the inner one of stone. The circumference of the outer wall was seven miles and one-eighth. The whole of this wall was surrounded by the invaders with a wooden breastwork, to construct which all the trees of the sacred groves were cut down. "The trees were cut with axes and felled, notwithstanding their groans; and the Hindoos, who worship trees, could not at that time come to the rescue of their idols, so that every cursed tree which was in that capital of idolatry was cut down to the roots; and clever carpenters applied the sharp iron to shape the blocks, so that a wooden fortress was drawn round the army, of such stability that if fire had rained from heaven, their camp would have been unscathed." The siege was carried on with great fury in spite of an obstinate defence. Several sorties were repulsed, and in one the whole party was slain and "the heads of the Rawats rolled on the plain like crocodiles' eggs." At length the outer wall was taken and then the Rajah sued for peace. He was ordered to give up the whole of his treasure, and a general massacre was threatened if he should be found to have kept anything for himself. He also agreed to send tribute yearly. On the 16th Shawal (March 1310 A. D.) Malik Kafur left Warangal with his army, and with a thousand camels

groaning under the weight of the treasure. He reached Delhi on the 11th Mohurram, and on the 24th the treasure was presented to the Sultan. Thus ended the first siege of Warangal, which had, however, to undergo several others before, thirteen years afterwards, it was finally sacked and destroyed.

The plunder thus obtained from the two excursions to the Deccan only excited the Sultan's desire for more, and the same general, Malik Kafur, was at once despatched to Deogiri with orders to organise another expedition to the regions further south. It is probable that Deogiri or Dowlatabad, as it will be called henceforth, was already governed by a lieutenant of the Delhi emperor, although the Rajah may have been left there with a certain amount of nominal power.

Not only was every assistance given towards the equipment of this new expedition, but the Rajah himself gave a Hindoo general to act as a guide to this unknown country. The King of Warangal also sent twenty elephants to Dowlatabad, with an intimation that he would be punctual in sending his tribute in future. Early in the following year (1311) Malik Kafur marched southwards. The territories of the Dowlatabad and Warangal kingdoms must have extended as far south as the boundaries of Mysore, for we do not read of the Mahomedan army having encountered any enemy until the "Bellal Deo of Dharwar Samoonder." This name evidently refers to one of the Vellala dynasty, which then ruled in Mysore, and the place is identified with a spot near Seringapatam, the word Samoonder being a Mahomedan corruption of Samudram, the word used in the Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese languages for a large tank or reservoir, the literal meaning being "sea." The Rajah was conquered and had to yield a large amount of treasure and elephants, which were despatched as a first instalment to Delhi. From Mysore the Mahomedan army marched to Madura where a quarrel had arisen between the two sons of the Hindoo king, who is called by the historian

Wassaf, Kales Dewar. This king is said to have been immensely rich, and the same author says that in his city of Mardi (Madura) there were "1200 crores of gold deposited, every crore being equal to a thousand lakhs, and every lakh to one hundred thousand dinars. Beside this, there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises, and emeralds, more than is the power of language to express." The whole of the country over which this king ruled, is called by the Mahomedan historians Ma'bar, and included not only that part which is now known as Malabar, but also the whole of the Madura country, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The capital of this great kingdom was at Madura, and the dynasty is known as the Pandion race of kings.

When the King Kales Dewar died, about 1309, he left two sons, called by the Mahomedan historians Rai Sundar Pandiya and Rai Bir Pandiya. The latter name is clearly a corruption of Veera, an old Hindoo name. These two brothers quarrelled, and Veera Pandiya, the younger and illegitimate brother, drove the older one from the country, and it appears to have been on behalf of Sundar Pandiya that Malik Kafur invaded Madura. At the approach of the Mahomedan army, Veera Pandiya took refuge in the jungles, and was pursued from place to place. All the towns and temples on the line of march were sacked and destroyed, and on the 17th Zilkada the army arrived at Madura which shared the same fate. An immense amount of booty was obtained here, and Amir Khusru says that "when the Malik came to take a muster of the elephants, they extended over a length of three *parasangs*, * and amounted to five hundred and twelve, besides five thousand horses, Arabian and Syrian, and five hundred *máns* of jewels of every description—diamonds, pearls, emeralds, and rubies."

On the 4th Jumada Sani 711 H. (1311) Malik Kafur

* *Parasangs*, a Persian measure of distance = 3 miles.

arrived in Delhi with all this treasure and presented it to the Sultan Ala-ud-Din. But a curse seemed to attach to all the gold and jewels taken from the Hindoo idolaters, and in the same way as the Warangal treasure tempted Ala-ud-Din to murder his uncle Jelal-ud-Din, so now the same temptation brought upon him the same fate from the hands of Malik Kafur. In 1317 Ala-ud-Din died, his death having been hastened, it is said, by Malik Kafur, who at once seized the throne. He put out the eyes of two of Ala-ud-Din's sons, "by cutting them from their sockets with a razor, like slices of melon," and confined another (Mubarak Khan), intending him for the same fate. Before, however, he could do this, retribution overtook Malik Kafur himself. A conspiracy was formed amongst some of the nobles, who entered the palace at night and killed him when he was asleep. This being done, Mubarak Khan was placed upon the throne and assumed the title of Sultan Kutb-ud-Din (1317). In the following year another expedition was undertaken by the Sultan against Deogiri, which had revolted. The head of the revolt was Harpal Deo, but he was defeated without difficulty, taken prisoner, and then flayed alive, his skin being hung over the gates of the fort. A Mahomedan governor was then appointed, and from that time Deogiri, or, as it is now called, Dowlatabad, ceased to be the residence of a Hindoo king. In the following year the newly-appointed governor of Dowlatabad revolted, but was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi, where his ears and nose were cut off, and he was publicly disgraced. Khusru Khan, a favourite of the Sultan, appears to have replaced him, and to have made another invasion of Malabar; but the Hindoo gold seems to have laid upon him its curse also, for on his return to Delhi he abused the confidence placed in him by entering the palace with a band of assassins and murdering the Sultan. In this way died the last descendant of Ala-ud-Din, and the former murder of the

poor old Sultan Jelal-ud-Din was avenged upon the murderer's descendents. Khusru Khan occupied the throne for a few months only, under the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din, when he in turn was slain by Ghazi Malik, a noble of Deobalpur, who then mounted the throne as the founder of a new dynasty, under the title of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlik Shah (1320).

One of the first acts of the new Sultan was to send an army under his eldest son to Warangal. Laddar Deo was still King of Warangal, and at first tried to purchase peace by delivering up his treasure. Ulugh Khan, the Sultan's son, refused any terms, and commenced laying siege to the fort. The Hindoos were reduced to extremity, and were on the eve of capitulating, when a revolt broke out in the camp in consequence of a false report of the Sultan's death. The Hindoos seized the opportunity, sallied forth, and plundered the baggage of the army, whereupon Ulugh Khan retired to Dowlatabad, and Warangal had another respite. The respite, however, was a brief one, for no sooner had the Sultan punished the instigators of the revolt, than he sent Ulugh Khan with another army to besiege the ill-fated city. This time resistance was of no avail, and after a short siege the fort was taken, the Rajah with all his family and treasures were captured and sent to Delhi, and the very name of Warangal was altered to that of Sultanpur. This occurred in 1323. But the curse attending the Hindoo gold was still at work, and again we find that the desire of possessing this fatal gold led to crime. This time it was parricide, and Ulugh Khan was led away to kill his own father. This is the way the murder was effected. The Sultan was returning from an expedition to Delhi, and Ulugh Khan built a pavilion in which to receive him. This pavilion was so contrived that by treading on a certain stone the roof would fall in. Whilst the Sultan was being entertained at dinner, Ulugh Khan and the conspirators went out, touched the secret spring, and the roof fell in and killed the Sultan

and his companions. Ulugh Khan then mounted the throne under the title of Mahomed Tughlak Shah (1325).

We have now come to the time when we can find some authentic accounts of the Deccan country. The two great Hindoo kingdoms of Warangal and Deogiri have been destroyed, and in their place Mahomedan rule has been substituted. The representative of the Sultan of Delhi is an almost independent governor in the midst of on alien population. Except in the immediate vicinity of his capital, Dowlatabad, it is probable that he does not exercise more than a nominal sway. Though Mahomedan armies have marched far away to the south—it is said that Malik Kafur actually built a mosque at Rameswaram—they have left no permanent impression. All that they have done is to carry away plunder, and leave behind them ruins and heaps of corpses. There exists a bitter hatred against them on account of their cruelty and rapine, and already the Hindoos, driven away from Warangal and the Telingana, have founded a new kingdom at Vijayanagar, which is destined to be for two hundred and fifty years a bulwark against further invasion. In Delhi there is a constant struggle for the throne. Tempted by the enormous amount of treasure which has been carried away from the Hindoos, there are adventurers always eager to obtain a share. Already on the north-western frontiers has appeared the shadow of the Mogul conqueror, who before long will drive the Afghan Sultans away. Amid such scenes of disturbance it is not likely that the Sultans of Delhi can exercise a very effectual control over so distant a place as Dowlatabad. If this part of the country is to be preserved under Mahomedan rule, there must be a local leader to concentrate the scattered Hindoo provinces which have lost their ancient rulers. The time for the birth of a new kingdom has arrived, and when the hour has come the man is always ready. And so it was in this case.

CHAPTER II.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BAHMANEE KINGS OF GULBURGA.

IN the last chapter I have endeavoured to describe the state of affairs in the Deccan at the commencement of the reign of Mahomed Tughlak Shah. The character of this King was not one calculated to improve matters. During his long reign of twenty-seven years (from 1325 to 1352, A.D.) he brought his kingdom to the verge of ruin by his mad acts of tyranny and insane adventure. He was wise enough to see that if the new conquests in the Deccan were to be preserved to the Mahomedans, and the growing power of the young Hindoo kingdom at Vijayanagar kept in check, it would be necessary to have the central power nearer to the newly conquered province than Delhi. The distance from the capital, and the immense wealth hoarded up by the Hindoo princes

offered too great a temptation to the loyalty of his lieutenants. The Governors at Dowlatabad were constantly being accused of disloyalty, and were frequently removed. In order to obviate this he conceived the mad idea of transferring his capital from Delhi to Dowlatabad. This was not done gradually, but, as it were at a moment's notice, the whole of the inhabitants of the great city, which for 180 years had been the capital of the Mahomedan Empire in India, were ordered to leave their homes and emigrate to Dowlatabad. The historian *Barni* thus describes the effect of this tyrannical order: "The city with its *sárâis* and its suburbs and villages spread over four or five *Kos* (about 10 miles). All was destroyed. So complete was the ruin, that not a cat or dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburbs. Troops of the natives, with their families and dependents, wives and children, men-servants, and maid-servants were forced to remove. The people who for many years and for generations had been natives and inhabitants of the land were broken-hearted. Many from the toils of the long journey, perished on the road, and those who arrived at Deogiri could not endure the pain of exile. In despondency they pined to death. All around Deogiri, which is an infidel land, there sprung up graveyards of Mussulmans. The Sultan was bounteous in his liberality and favours to the emigrants, both on their journey and on their arrival: but they were tender and they could not endure the exile and the suffering. They laid down their heads in that heathen land, and of all the multitudes of emigrants few only survived to return to their home. Thus the city, the envy of the cities of the inhabited world, was reduced to ruin. One of these emigrants was a man who afterwards became very famous in the Deccan as the founder of a new kingdom. This man was called Hassan. He was born in the year 1290 (A. D.) and was in very humble circumstances. For the first thirty years of his life he was nothing more than a field labourer,

and was employed by a Brahmin of Delhi named *Gangu*. This Brahmin gave him a piece of land near the city walls, together with a pair of oxen and two labourers. Hassan was a hard working honest man, and one day when he was at work with his plough, it struck in some hard body "and Hassan upon examination, found it was entangled in a chain round the neck of an earthen vessel, which proved to be full of antique gold coins. He immediately carried them to the Brahmin, who commended his honesty and informed the Prince of the discovered treasure" (Scott's Ferishta). This prince was the Sultan Ghaziuddin, who reigned from 1320 to 1325. The Sultan was so much pleased with Hassan's honesty, that he ordered him to be brought to his presence and bestowed upon him the command of one hundred horse. This sudden elevation from the position of a field labourer to that of a military officer of considerable rank would appear absurd now-a-days, but five hundred years ago it was no uncommon thing. The Brahmin Gangu, who employed Hassan, was one of the royal astrologers, and attracted by this promotion of his hitherto obscure servant he cast his horoscope. In this horoscope he found it foretold that Hassan would one day become a king. In repeating this prophecy to Hassan, the Brahmin made one request, *viz.*, that Hassan should adopt his name in future, and when he should some day become king that he would appoint him as his minister of finance. This Hassan promised, and from that time was known as Hassan Gangu *. It is said that his good fortune was also predicted by a Mahomedan saint named Shekh Nizam-ud-Din Oulea, whose memory is still venerated at Delhi, and whose tomb is resorted to annually by numerous pilgrims. These prophecies and his recent promotion, no doubt, fired Hassan's

* This name as translated from the Persian historians is generally spelt Kangoh, but it evidently refers to Gangu a not uncommon Hindoo name.

ambition, and he looked forward to some opportunity of adventure. The Deccan was then the El Dorado of the Mahomedan imagination, and no doubt Hassan hoped some day to employ his body of horsemen in slaying and plundering the infidel Hindoos. The opportunity was not long in coming. When Mahomed Tughlak Shah resolved to change his capital from Delhi to Dowlatabad, he appointed Kuttulugh Khan as Governor of the latter place, and allowed him to select his own officers. One of these was Hassan Gangu and he followed his new master to Dowlatabad, where he was assigned as jaghir the "town of Konechee with lands dependent on the district of Roy baugh" (Scott.) This town is situated in what is now H. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Here Hassan remained for some years increasing in influence and wealth. No doubt he made various raids for himself against his neighbours the heathen Hindoos, until at last he became a landholder and a military chief of considerable importance.

In the meantime matters throughout the kingdom of Mahomed Tughlak had grown from bad to worse. The unpopularity which the king had earned by the enforced emigration of the inhabitants from Delhi to Dowlatabad was increased by the arbitrary manner in which the jaghirdars were treated in the outlying provinces. All kinds of exactions were made, and whenever a landowner refused to pay he was treated as a rebel. Altogether Mahomed Tughlak seems to have behaved like a madman. *Barni* * enumerates six projects which led to the ruin of the country. The first was an attempt to extort from five to ten per cent more tribute from all the landowners in the Doab. These cesses, we are told, were collected so rigorously that the *raiyats* were impoverished and reduced to beggary. Those who were rich and had property became rebels; the lands were ruined and cultivation was entirely arrested. This, added to a failure of the rains, brought about a terrible famine, which

* Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III.

is spoken of as one of the worst that ever occurred in India. It continued, we are told, for some years, and thousands upon thousands of people perished of want. The second project was the change of the capital to which allusion has already been made. The third was even madder than the first two, and was nothing less than a conquest of the whole world. The King wished to become a second Alexander, and resolved upon raising an enormous army with which to carry out his designs. In order to provide the necessary funds to pay this countless host of soldiers, he introduced copper money, and gave orders that it should be used in buying and selling and should pass current, just as the gold and silver coins had passed. The promulgation of this order we are told by the same historian, turned the house of every Hindoo into a mint, and the Hindoos of the various provinces coined an enormous amount of copper coins. Of course, the natural result was a general depreciation of the currency, and so low did the value of the new coins fall, that they were not esteemed higher than "pebbles or potsherds." When trade was interrupted on every side, and when the copper *tankas* "had become more worthless than clods," the Sultan repealed his edict, and in great wrath he proclaimed that whoever possessed copper coins should bring them to the treasury and receive the old gold coins in exchange. "Thousands of men from various quarters, who possessed thousands of these copper coins, and caring nothing about them, had flung them into corners along with their copper pots, now brought them to the treasury and received in exchange gold *tankas* and silver *tankas*, *shashgánis* and *du-garnis* which they carried to their homes. So many of these copper coins were brought to the treasury that heaps of them rose up in Tuglikábád (the new name of Dowlatabad) like mountains. Great sums went out of the treasury in exchange for the copper, and a great deficiency was caused. When the Sultan saw that his project had failed, and that great loss had been

entailed upon the treasury through his copper coins, he more than ever turned against his subjects." The remaining three projects were military expeditions, all of which were attended by failure. The first two were against Khurasan and Persia, and the third against China. The latter was especially disastrous. A large army was shut in by the Hindoos in the defiles of what is now called the Black Mountain and was entirely cut to pieces. Out of the whole army only ten horsemen returned to Delhi to tell the news of their defeat.

The consequence of these rash enterprises was that everywhere the country broke into open revolt. In Multan, Bengal, and distant Ma'bar the Governors rebelled. It is difficult now to ascertain the exact boundaries of this province of Ma'bar. As has been said before, the whole of the southern portion of the Peninsula was called Malabar. * It is probable that the capital of the Mahomedan Governor was somewhere on the western coast, but if so, in a very short time all trace of this Mahomedan occupation vanished, for during the next two hundred years, until the time of Aurungzebe, the whole ef this country was undoubtedly held by Hindoos. The Sultan marched with an army to put down this rebellion, but he did not get further than Warangal, when cholera broke out and he was compelled to return. When he reached Dowlatabad on his way home, he gave permission to those who wished to do so to return to Delhi. A large number availed themselves of this permission, but those who had become acclimatised resolved to remain. No sooner had the Sultan returned to Delhi than a revolt broke out at Warangal. A Hindoo named Kanya Naick raised an army of his co-religionists, and succeeded in driving out the Mahomedan Governor Malik Makbul, who fled to Delhi. The province of Warangal was then completely

* The west coast was known to the Arabs as Ma'bar long before this conquest, because it was the coast to which traders *crossed* over from Arabia (from *Abara* = he crossed).

lost to the Mahomedans and for some time the Hindoos established their rule. No attempt seems to have been made to recover this country, probably because the Sultan's attention was so fully occupied by other matters. In fact before long the only outlying provinces that remained faithful were Dowlatabad and Guzerat. But it was not long that the Sultan's folly caused him to lose these two provinces also. In 1344, a man named Aziz Khummar was appointed as Governor of Malwa and Guzerat with strict orders to collect as much tribute as possible. One of the first acts of this wretch was to collect eighty of the principal Amirs at his palace and cause them all to be beheaded. This brutal act, which was rewarded by the Sultan with a robe of honour and a complimentary letter, caused a general insurrection. This broke out first in Gujarat where the nobles rose and defeated the deputy Governor Mukbil. This occurred in 1345. The Sultan at once marched in person to suppress this revolt, which, after committing great cruelties, he succeeded in doing. Those nobles who were not captured fled with their families to the Deccan and many of them took refuge at Dowlatabad. The Sultan despatched an order that all these fugitives should be sent to him with an escort of fifteen hundred horse. On the way these prisoners rose against their guards, killed them and then returned to Dowlatabad where they proclaimed an open rebellion. The treasury was looted and distributed amongst the conspirators. They then declared the independence of the Deccan and elected as their first Sultan an Afghan chief named Ismael who assumed the title of Nusrud-din. Prominent amongst these conspirators was Hassan Kangoh, upon whom the title of Zaffir Khan was bestowed, together with several large districts in jaghir. So great was the general feeling of discontent against the Sultan of Delhi, that the rebels at Dowlatabad were assisted in their revolt by the Hindoos of Warangal, who thus made common cause with Mahomedans against their oppressor. Mahomed

Toghluk at once marched against the rebels and defeated them. He did not, however, succeed in capturing the ringleaders, and most of them escaped to their own districts, where the Sultan was unable to follow them, as his presence was again required to suppress a revolt at Delhi. He left behind him however a deputy named Imad-ul-Mulk, with orders to march to Gulburga, hunt up all the fugitives and bring the country into order. Gulburga was the part of the country in which Hassan Kangoh's jaghirs were situated, and this was the opportunity for which he had prepared himself. He collected his troops as quickly as possible, and went to meet Imad-ul-Mulk, who had remained at Bieder. The Sultan's General had about 30,000 men of all arms, and Hassan only about 15,000. The latter, therefore, avoided coming to a general action, but kept Imad-ul-Mulk in check, until reinforcements could arrive. At length he received 15,000 men from Warangal, and a body of 5,000 horse despatched by the confederate Sultan Ismael from Dowlatabad. With forces thus increased, Hassan did not hesitate to meet his opponent. A pitched battle ensued which was fought near Bieder. It commenced at daybreak and lasted till sunset. The result was that Imad-ul-Mulk was killed and his army utterly defeated with great slaughter. The fugitives made their escape to Malwa, but a large number appear subsequently to have taken service with the victorious general. Hassan, flushed with victory, now marched to Dowlatabad to join his forces with those of Sultan Ismael Nasr-ud-Din. Ismael came some distance to meet his general, and there was a scene of the utmost enthusiasm. Nasr-ud-Din saw that the whole of the army looked up to Hassan as its natural leader, and he therefore very wisely resolved to give place to his younger rival. He called an assembly of the nobles and told them that his great age rendered him incapable of conducting the government of so young a kingdom, surrounded by such powerful enemies. He therefore voluntarily

resigned the throne, and advised them to elect Hassan Kangoh in his place. This proposal was received with the utmost enthusiasm and the former peasant was raised to the throne under the title of *Sultan Alla-ud-Din Hassan Kangoh Bahmanee.* (A. D. 1347). In the hour of his prosperity the new Sultan did not forget his old patron and, faithful to his former promise, he sent for Kangoh and committed to his care his treasury and finances. It is said that Kangoh was the first Brahmin who ever took service under a Mahomedan Prince, but, however this may be, he was most certainly not the last, for during the next two hundred years it became the universal custom throughout the Deccan for the different Mahomedan kings to appoint Brahmins to high posts of authority. This was a wise stroke of policy; for it had the effect of bringing the Government more in touch with the people, the vast majority of whom were Hindoos. In fact the Mahomedans throughout the Deccan were only employed in military posts, and the cultivation of the country was everywhere left in the hands of the Hindoos. Malik Seyf-ud-Din Ghoree was appointed Prime Minister, and the ex-Sultan resumed his name of Ismael, and was nominated *Amir-ul-Amra* or chief of the nobles.

Such was the commencement of the dynasty of the Bahmanee Sultans of Gulburga, for this was the capital of the new kingdom. In the succeeding chapters we shall see to what an extraordinary height of prosperity this kingdom quickly rose, under the wise and just rule of Sultan Alla-ud-Din the former servant of the Brahmin astrologer. Amongst the Mahomedans more than any other nation, there are to be found instances of a romantic and adventurous life, but even amongst Mahomedans there are but few examples of such a wonderful change of fortune, and still rarer are the instances where the success was unstained by cruelty. Sultan Alla-ud-Din was now 57 years of age, and he had still eleven years before him in which to finish the work he had thus gloriously commenced.

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE OF THE HINDOO KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR, AND THE END OF THE FIRST GULBURGA SULTAN.

We have already seen that with the fall of Warangal in 1323 the Hindoo kingdom of Telingana came to an end. The city was plundered and destroyed and the King was carried off prisoner to Delhi. After some years he was permitted to return to find his capital in ruins and its inhabitants scattered.

He exercised a certain control over a few districts, but he never recovered his former power and position, and instead of being the head of a mighty kingdom, he became nothing more than a petty chieftain. There had been two brothers in the army of the King of Warangal, named *Bukha Raya* and *Hari-hara*. When the city fell, these two brothers made their escape with a small body of horse, and were according to one account accompanied in their flight by a Madhava Brahmin named Vidya Aranya, or the Forest of learning. This Brahmin had formed a strong attachment towards the two brothers, and had prophesied that they would some day become Kings *). During their flight they were joined by other remnants of the army of the King of Warangal until at last the following became quite a large one. This small army marched towards the south, and crossed the Kristna about the spot where it is joined by the Tungabadhra, near where the present town of Kurnool is situated. Following the course of the Tungabadhra the brothers marched on for more than 150 miles up the stream, until they reached a spot where they thought themselves safe from a Mahomedan invasion. Here they remained for some years, moving probably from one place to another until at last they selected a site for a town, which in honour of their Brahmin Counsellor they called Vidhyanagaram, or city of learning. The date of the building of this city is generally ascribed to the year 1336 A.D. The only records to be found of this new kingdom are in the grants which are to be found in the inscriptions on stone and copper in the temples. The earliest of these is several years subsequent to the year 1336. This, however, is only natural as it would only be after increasing in power that such grants would be made. The time was especially favourable for the growth of a new power. It will be remembered that the armies of the Delhi Sultans under Malik Kafur and others had between 1310 and 1324

* For another and more reliable account see Chap. VII.

swept away the Hindoo kingdoms of the Deccan. After this period, and especially during the reign of Mahomed Toghluk, there were so many disturbances in the Mahomedan kingdom that the Sultan had but little time to spare to look after the conquests in the South. The Mahomedan Governors of the provinces, amongst whom was Hassan Kangoh, were each too busy in schemes of personal aggrandizement to interfere with what was going on at a distance, so that whilst circumstances were bringing about the founding of a new Mahomedan Kingdom at Gulburga, Bukha Raya and Harihara were left undisturbed. So rapidly did their conquests extend, especially towards the East and South, that in a short time the name of their city was changed to Vijayanagaram, or the city of victory, and it is under that name, or that of Bisnugger that we find it mentioned in history. The city of Vijayanagar rapidly grew in size, and extended itself on both banks of the river Tungabadhra. The site is a favourable one, being protected by a ridge of hills, through which a narrow pass that can be easily defended protects the city. The rapid growth of this new kingdom is as striking as was that of the new kingdom of Golconda. For two hundred years they were rivals of each other. At first they were probably allies against the Delhi Sultans and so had time to extend their dominions without mutual interference. The Vijayanagar dynasty having been expelled from the Telingana or Warangal country, seems to have relinquished all thoughts of reconquering it, and devoted itself to recovering from the Mahomedans the outlying and detached provinces situated in the Ma'bar or Southern countries. The dissensions and civil wars, which lasted for the next twenty years in the North of India, enabled it to succeed in this endeavour, for by the end of that time we find that all trace of Mahomedan government in southern India had disappeared. It is probably soon after the establishment of this new Hindoo Kingdom that a geographical line was drawn

between the Deccan and the Carnatic. The former represented that portion of central India which lies between the Godavery as a northern boundary and the Tungabadhra, and extended before long from one coast to the other. The latter comprised the rich valleys of the tributaries of the Pennair with their mountainous passes, and from thence extended to Conjeveram, Arcot, and subsequently Madura. There is throughout the history of the struggles between the Mahomedans and the Hindoos one remarkable feature. No sooner is a Hindoo kingdom established than it at once acquires enormous wealth in gold and jewels. These treasures, no doubt, attracted the cupidity of the Mahomedans, but a few years after a Hindoo Prince has been conquered and despoiled, we almost always find him in possession of fresh hoards of treasure which he again has to yield up. It is only when the Hindoo kingdom is annexed and the dynasty exterminated that we find the country ceases to produce gold and precious stones, and the Mahomedan conquerors have then to go against other Hindoo kingdoms in order to gain fresh treasure. Under Mahomedan rule it would seem that there was little or no natural production, and no development of the country's resources. Under Hindoo Princes, on the contrary, as long as they were left undisturbed, attention was paid to agricultural and irrigation works, and especially to mining industries. The consequence was that the Hindoo kingdoms became rich and prosperous, but as soon as they were conquered and annexed by the Mahomedans the indigenous industries were allowed to languish. No more striking instance of this is to be found than in the Deccan. It has already been told how often Deogiri and Warangal were attacked, and how on each occasion an enormous amount of treasure carried away. To this day the ruins of old irrigation works show how prosperous must have been the agricultural condition of the Telingana country. After the Mahomedan Governor of Warangal had been compelled to

flee, as told in the last chapter, the Hindoos again ruled the country, and we shall again find them coming into collision with the Mahomedan Sultans of Gulburga, and being again in possession of treasures of gold and precious stones. When, however, eventually the Hindoo princes were finally overthrown, and their country subjugated to the Golconda Kings we hear but little more of the stores of treasure. It is, however, a fact that the whole of the Deccan, from Mysore up to the northern limits of the Nizam's dominions are covered with remains of old mining works. In Mysore it has been found that these old mines extend to a considerable depth, and traces of what, in mining language, is called "the old men" are found at three or even four hundred feet beneath the surface. In many of these mines the work had, no doubt, to be relinquished, because with the mechanical appliances of those days there was always a point beyond which the miners could not go, owing to the want of proper pumps, the cost of raising the ore by manual labour, &c. Other mines again were probably relinquished before this point had been reached, because the new conquerors paid no attention to the industry, and prized the spoil of the sword, higher than that of the spade and the pickaxe. They were, therefore, allowed to fall into ruin, and all tradition of the ancient industry passed away. Attention, however, is now being attracted to these old mines, and in some of the Mysore mines in which the work has been carried to a point beyond which the "old men" could not go, the yield of gold is so great, that they rank amongst the richest gold mines in the world. In course of time it is highly probable, that similar results will be obtained from the other old mines, hundreds of which are scattered all over the country. There is little doubt, that it was from these mines that the Hindoos obtained their vast wealth, and it is equally certain that the old miners must have left behind them a vast store of gold, which, with their appliances and

primitive machinery, they were unable to touch. It would not be unsafe to prophecy, that a hundred years hence the Deccan will be one of the richest gold-producing countries in the world, and during the next century we may see the prosperity of six hundred years ago renewed to an even greater degree. The gold thus acquired, will be spent in restoring the old irrigation works, and the districts, which must at one time have borne a teeming population, but which now often carry less than one hundred meagrely-nourished persons to the square mile, will again be peopled by a prosperous and thriving peasantry. Having thus traced the origin of the Vijayanagar kingdom, we must now return to Gulburga and follow the events of the reign of the first of the Bahmani Sultans.

Sultan Alla-ud-Din was not slow to take advantage of the disturbances in Delhi to extend the boundaries of his new kingdom. He won over the Afghan, Mogul and Rajput Chiefs, stationed by the Emperor at Bieder and Candahar. This Candahar is not to be mistaken for the town in Afghanistan, but is a fort situated on the north-west of Dowlatabad. He also took Kailas from the Rajah of Warangal, with whom he then formed a defensive alliance. In a short time his dominions comprised almost the whole of the western and southern portions of what now forms the Nizam's Dominions. In 1352 (A.D.) Mahomed Toghluk died, and was succeeded by his nephew Firoz Shah. This Prince was a wise and humane ruler, and ranks amongst the best and greatest of the Delhi Emperors. He was wise enough to see that the only way to maintain the tottering empire was to consolidate it. Accordingly, he recognized the accomplished fact of the new kingdom of Gulburga, and devoted his attention to redressing the grievances of the provinces nearer his capital. Thus left undisturbed, Alla-ud-Din was at liberty to carry out his own designs. One of his first acts was to marry his son to the daughter of his Prime Minister, Malik Seyf-ud-Din Ghoree.

This ceremony was conducted with the utmost magnificence. We are told by Ferishta that "ten thousand robes of cloth of gold, velvet, and satin were distributed among the nobility and others. One thousand Arab and Persian horses, and two hundred sabres set with jewels were also divided. The populace were entertained with various amusements, and engines were erected in the streets of Gulburga, which cast forth showers of confectionery among the crowd. The rejoicings lasted a whole year, on the last day of which, the nobility and officers presented offerings of jewels, money and the rarest productions of all countries to the Sultan." This truly was a right royal wedding, and shows that the new King had already acquired a considerable quantity of wealth. It is probable, however, that festivities on so large a scale were organized from feelings of policy. In the same way as the Roman people was always attracted and conciliated by *Panes et circenses*, so, by a lavish expenditure of money, the founder of the new dynasty endeavoured to win over an alien people. In this he seems to have been eminently successful, and we read of no rebellions or revolts, amongst his Hindoo subjects. One conspiracy we do read of, but that was organized by the ex-Sultan Ismael, who had been made Amir-ul-Amra, or chief of the nobles. Although he had been wise enough to resign the throne in favour of Alla-ud-Din, it is probable, that he felt some jealousy towards the new King; in fact, it would be contrary to human nature if he did not. This jealousy was increased by the preference and precedence shown towards Seyf-ud-Din Ghoree, the Prime Minister. As chief of the nobles, he considered himself entitled to the first rank under the Sultan, and complained accordingly to his master. He received as an answer, that in every Government the pen ranked above the sword. With this reply, he pretended to be satisfied, but secretly he formed a conspiracy, the object of which was to assassinate the Sultan, and to place himself

on the throne he had previously resigned. The plot, however, was revealed to the Sultan by some of the conspirators who repented. The Sultan at once called an assemblage of all his principal nobles and officers, and in their presence accused the Amir-ul-Amra of treachery. This accusation being denied on solemn oath, the Sultan called forth the informer and offered a pardon to all others who had joined the plot if they would reveal the truth. This they did, and his guilt being conclusively proved, the ex-Sultan was at once put to death. But though the Sultan showed that he could be severe, his conduct was a proof that he was neither cruel nor vindictive None of the traitor's property was confiscated, and his son Bahadur Khan was at once appointed to his father's post as Amir-ul-Omara, and the royal favour continued as before, to be extended to the family. Alla-ud-Din may have been brought up as a peasant, but he showed that he knew how to behave like a king.

"From this," to quote again from Ferishta, "and other instances of justice tempered with mercy, loyalty to the Sultan became fixed in every breast, and his power daily increased. The Rajah of Telingana, * who had become disobedient, but was treated with generous forbearance on account of his former assistance to the Sultan, was overcome by the sense of his virtues, submitted to his authority, and agreed to pay the tribute which he had heretofore remitted to the Sovereign of Delhi." An army sent into the Carnatic returned after several successful engagements, laden with booty, amongst which were two hundred elephants, and one thousand female singers. An invitation was sent from the representative of the old Rajah of Guzerat to invade that country, which was then left a prey to a number of turbulent and rebellious jagirdars, who were too distant from Delhi to be kept in control. Alla-ud-Din assembled a large army for this purpose, and sent off his

* The name generally used for Waragal.

eldest son Mohamed in command of the vanguard, he himself following with the main army. On the way, however, he was attacked by a severe illness, which compelled him to return to Gulburga. The Sultan seeing that his days were numbered, set about arranging the affairs of his kingdom. He divided his territories into four provinces at the head of each of which, he placed a governor. The capital and its dependencies, consisting of Dabul, a small port near Bombay, Bejoir and Mudkul were entrusted to Sey-fud-Din Ghoree; Choul, Kiber, Dowlatabad and Mheeropatan, to his nephew Mahomed; the Berars, Mahoor and Ramgur, to Kusder Khan Systain; and Bieder, Indore and the Telingana districts to Azim Humayun, son of Seyf-ud-Din Ghoree. It will thus be seen that Alla-ud-Din's dominions including not only a large portion of the present kingdom of Hyderabad, but also extended as far as the Western coast, though it is probable that his possessions there were detached and limited in extent. The Beejoir here mentioned is probably what was afterwards known as Beejapore, and of which we shall hear more hereafter. At this time the Mahrattas did not exist as a nation; and the country afterwards known as the Mahratta country was divided amongst a number of petty hill chieftains; some of whom submitted to the Sultan, whilst others remained independent in their inaccessible forts and fortresses.

For six months the Sultan continued to decline in health, and his end was fast approaching. During the whole of this time, in spite of his illness he gave public audience twice a day, and transacted business. He ordered all prisoners to be released except those accused of capital offences. These were sent to Gulburga, where they were examined by the Sultan himself. With the exception of seven, all these were set at liberty, and these seven the Sultan handed over to his son Muhammed to be dealt with as he thought proper after his father's death. "At length" says Ferishta "finding no benefit

from medicine and feeling nature exhausted, he discharged his physicians, and waited patiently for the final cure of human ills. In this state, enquiring for his youngest son Mahmoud who had been reading with his tutor, what book he had that day perused, the Prince replied: "The Boseton of Saadi, and the following passage: 'I have heard that Jamshid of angelic memory had these verses engraved upon a fountain: Many like me have viewed the fountain, but they are gone, and their eyes closed for ever. I conquered the world by policy and valour, but could not overcome the grave.'" The Sultan sighed at this recital, and calling his sons Daood and Mahomed before him, said: "This is my last breath, and with it I conjure you, as you value the permanence of the kingdom to agree with each other. Muhammed is my successor; esteem submission and loyalty to him as your duty in this world, and your surety for happiness in the next." Having said this, he sent for the treasurer, and gave to each of his sons a sum of money to distribute to the poor. When they had obeyed him and returned, he exclaimed: 'Praise be to God!' and instantly resigned his life to the Creator. 'Constantly appears some one who boasts, I am Lord, shows himself to his fellows, and vaunts, I am Lord. When the affairs of mortals have become dependent on him, suddenly advances death, and exclaims: *I* am Lord!'" The death of Sultan Alla-ud-Din happened eleven years, two months, and seven days after his accession to royalty, and on the first of Rabec'-ul-Awal, 759, (A. D. 1359), in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

"It is related that Sultan Alla-ud-Din being asked, how, without great treasures or armies, he had acquired royalty in so short a space, he replied: "By affability to friends and enemies, and by showing liberality to all to the utmost of my power!"

There are unfortunately but very slight materials for a history of Sultan Alla-ud-Din, but those that exist are sufficient

to show that he deserves a high place amongst the great men of the world's history. Born in the lowest ranks, he rose, by his own honesty of character, to be the founder of a great kingdom, and at no time was his career stained by cruelty or injustice. There are few characters in history that can compare with this, the first King of the Deccan, and there is probably no other nation in the world than the Mahomedan, which can furnish the example of a peasant raising himself to the throne of a monarch, who retains throughout his career, not only dignity of character, but honesty of purpose, and who relinquishes his life with such humble piety and simplicity. Mahomedans of the Deccan may well be proud of the first founder of their rule, and the history of the country shows that he was a rare exception to those who followed him.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GULBURGA SULTANS. — MUHAMMED SHAH.

SULTAN Alla-ud-Din was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammed (1st Rabee-ul-Awul 759 H—A.D. 1357). Everything in India depends upon personal influence, and no sooner did the news spread that Alla-ud-Din was dead, than the Hindoo Kings of Vijayanagar and Telingana, hoping to take advantage of a young king on a lately-established throne, not only refused to send tribute, but demanded the restoration of the districts taken from them by the late Sultan. Muhammed Shah was not at first in a position to punish this rebellion. His treasury was very low, owing to the enormous expenditure which he had incurred during the festivities which followed his accession, and to his having also sent his mother on a

pilgrimage to Mecca accompanied by a large train of his nobles and chiefs. Accordingly, he prolonged negociations with the ambassadors sent to him, and sent others to the Courts of the Rajahs with instructions to gain as much time as possible. As soon, however, as he had completed his arrangements, and his mother had returned, he broke off all negociations and made a demand on the Rajahs of their arrears of tribute, together with a number of elephants laden with treasure. Upon this the two Rajahs at once declared war, and the Rajah of Telingana, assisted by an army from Vijayanagar, sent his son Nagdeo to recapture the fort of Kailas. The Hindoos, however, were met by a Mahomedan army under Bahadur Khan and were totally defeated. The Telingana Rajah was made to pay a large subsidy in gold and jewels, and for some years there was peace. This period, which seems to have lasted for thirteen years, the Sultan employed in strengthening his kingdom. He was fond of show and magnificence, and spent a considerable amount of money in beautifying his capital. It was probably during this period that the splendid mosque was built which still stands in the Gulburga fort, though all the other palaces have fallen into ruin. This mosque is said to be unique of its kind in India and is modelled after the great mosque of Cordova. * He also devoted a great deal of attention to his army, and established

* According to Mr. Fergusson's account ("Eastern Architecture," page 544) it measures 216 feet east and west, and 176 feet north and south, and consequently covers an area of 38,016 square feet. Its great peculiarity is that alone of all the great mosques in India the whole area is covered in. The roof is supported on square stone pillars which form a number of aisles all converging towards the pulpit platform, which is separated from the body of the masjid by a carved stone railing. Some portions of the building are sadly in need of repair. It would be a great pity if the building, which Mr. Fergusson styles "one of the finest of the old Pathan mosques in India," were allowed to lapse into the same decay and desolation as those which surround it.

his household forces on a system of great magnificence. In addition to a select corps of two hundred sons of noblemen, he formed a bodyguard of four thousand men commanded by an officer of high rank, styled the Meer Nobut, or Lord of the Watch. Fifty mounted horsemen and one thousand of the bodyguard were on duty every day at the palace. The Sultan himself gave public audience on every day of the week except Friday, and transacted business from the early morning until noon. The Nobut, or band of the Watch, was sounded five times during the day, a custom which is said to have been adopted by none of the other Mahomedan Princes of the Deccan except the Kings of Golconda. Gold coinage was also introduced, and we find that the system of hoarding gold was as prevalent five hundred years ago as it is now. The Hindoo bankers are said to have collected as much of the gold coinage as they could gather, and to have melted it down. Ferishta attributes this to the instigation of the Rajahs of Telingana and Vijayanagar who wished that their coins only should be current in the Deccan, but it is more probable that it was due to the inborn habit of hoarding which prevails amongst all Hindoos. The Sultan, however, put a most effectual stop to this custom by punishing such offences with death, and by confining the banking business to Mahomedans related to Delhi bankers.

Sultan Muhammed Shah was very jealous about his own dignity, and his two greatest wars arose from what he considered a personal slight. In 1371 some horse dealers arrived in Gulburga with some horses which were shown to the Sultan; they were a very poor lot, and the Sultan said that they were not fit to be given to a king, whereupon the dealers replied that the best of the horses had been forcibly taken from them by the Hindoo prince Nagdeo at Velunputtun. It is difficult to ascertain what port is meant by Velunputtun. Scott guesses it to be either Goa or Rajapoor,

but Nagdeo was the son of the Rajah of Telingana, whose possessions most certainly did not extend to the Western coast. The name itself sounds more like a Telugu or Tamil name, and it therefore seems probable that it was some port on the Coromandel coast (perhaps Masulipatam). On the other hand, it seems difficult to understand why Arab horse dealers should have gone to the Eastern instead of the Western coast, and Ferishta expressly speaks of the Sultan halting on his march at a place called Kallean. This town was not the Kallean on the G. I. P. Railway below the Western Ghats but another Kallean situated in the Nizam's dominions considerably to the East of Gulburga. In order to revenge this insult, the Sultan marched into Telingana and took Velunputtun by storm, the young Rajah being taken prisoner. When the Rajah was brought before the Sultan, he was asked why he had dared to seize horses which were on their way to Gulburga. The Hindoo Prince is said to have given an insolent reply, which so enraged the Sultan that he ordered Nagdeo to be shot from an engine into a burning pile of wood, which barbarous sentence was duly carried out. On the return march, however, the Hindoos had their revenge. The country through which his journey lay was a very difficult one, and the enemy harrassed the Mahomedan army to such an extent that out of four thousand men only fifteen hundred reached Gulburga, after having lost all their tents, baggage and plunder, with the exception of the gold and jewels. The Sultan himself was wounded in the hand, and was forced to halt at Kailas. This fact is a proof that the expedition was to the Coromandel coast; for Kailas was a fort which had been taken from the Rajah of Warangal, in whose territory it was situated.

The Telingana Rajah in order to avenge the death of his son, now applied to Delhi for assistance, in return for which he promised to become a vassal of the Emperor. Feroze

Shah, however, was too much occupied with internal matters to comply with this appeal, and the Telingana king was left to his own resources.

In order to repair the disaster of this last expedition, the Sultan made large preparations and despatched two armies with which he intended to effect the complete conquest of Telingana. He left his Minister, Seyf-ud-Din Ghoree in charge of his capital, and himself marched with the army which had been sent to Warangal. A second army was sent to besiege Golconda, and the Rajah of Warangal was threatened with total ruin. The conquest, however, does not appear to have been an easy one, for the Sultan was detained for nearly two years in the Telingana country. At the end of this time the Rajah made overtures of peace, but the conditions imposed by the Sultan were very severe. They were the cession of the fort of Golconda, three hundred elephants, two hundred horses, and thirty-three lakhs of rupees. To these conditions the Rajah had to accede, and accordingly the main body of the Mahomedan army was sent back to Gulburga, the Sultan remaining with Bahadur Khan at Kailas in order to receive the treasure. When this had been handed over and the Rajah's ambassadors had been rewarded with presents, they asked the Sultan if he would sign a treaty of perpetual alliance with the Telingana Rajah, to be binding on the successors of both, in which case the Rajah would become his vassal, and present him with "a curiosity worthy to be laid at the feet of a great King only." This offer was no doubt agreeable to the Sultan, and a treaty was drawn up fixing Golconda as the boundary between the Sultan's and the Rajah's dominions, and the Sultan signed a paper conjuring his descendants not to molest the Telingana Rajahs as long as they kept faith. The ambassadors then produced the "curiosity," which consisted of a splendid throne covered with valuable jewels which had been prepared some time before as a present to the Emperor

Mahomed Toghluk Shah. With this present the Sultan was highly pleased, and the ambassadors were dismissed with every mark of honour. The treaty itself seems to have been faithfully kept, and for many generations we find no more mention of wars between the Gulburga and the Telingana Princes. It was in this way that Golconda came into the power of the Mahomedans, and from thenceforth it formed the capital of one of the Gulburga Governors, one of whom in course of time, when the power of the Bahmanee dynasty had declined, declared his independence and converted Golconda into the capital of a kingdom.

As regards the throne, Ferishta says that he had heard from an eyewitness that it was nine feet long and three feet broad. It was made of ebony covered with plates of pure gold, and set with precious stones of immense value. The jewels were so contrived as to be taken off and on. Every prince of the house of Bahmanee made a point of adding to it some rich stone; so that when in the reign of Sultan Mahmood it was taken to pieces to remove some of the jewels in order to be set in vases and cups, the jewellers valued it at one crore of pagodas or three and-a-half crores of rupees (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling). This splendid throne was called Firozeh, owing, as Ferishta says, to its being partly enamelled of a sky-blue colour which in time was entirely concealed by the number of jewels.

This throne was carried to Gulburga, and set up in the Durbar-hall with great pomp and festivity, the old silver throne of Alla-ud-Din being relegated to the treasury. Public rejoicings were instituted, and there was high feasting and merriment. It was on occasion of one of these banquets that an incident occurred which led to another great war.

One evening, during the festivities with which the inauguration of the new throne was celebrated, three hundred singers, who had come all the way from Delhi, were introduced to the

Sultan. The Prince was flushed with wine, in which, at times he indulged to excess, and excited by the recollection of his recent victories he adopted the strange method of rewarding the singers by ordering the Minister to give them a draft on the treasury of the King of Vijayanagar. The Minister wrote the draft accordingly, but, remembering the saying that an appeal lay from Alexander drunk to Alexander sober, did not despatch it. On the following day, however, the Sultan asked him if the order had been sent to the Rajah, and, on being answered in the negative, he exclaimed "Think you that a word without meaning could escape my lips? I did not give the order in intoxication, but in serious design." Accordingly the royal seal was attached to the draft and it was sent by a messenger to Vijayanagar. Naturally the Rajah was greatly exasperated at this apparently uncalled for insult; caused the messenger to be paraded through his city on an ass and sent him back with every mark of contempt and derision. As this treatment of an ambassador was certain to be answered by a declaration of war, the Rajah resolved to take the first step and to carry the attack into the Sultan's territory. Accordingly, he at once marched with 30,000 horse, 100,000 foot and three hundred elephants, and making the fort of Adoni his base he ravaged that portion of the country situated between the Tungabadhra and the Kistna, which is now known as the Doab. Before Muhammed Shah could collect his army, the Rajah was able to surprise and capture the fort of Mudkul, in which was a garrison of 600 men. Of these, every one was put to the sword with the exception of one man, who was allowed to escape to carry the news to the Sultan who was still at Gulburga. When the news of this terrible disaster reached him, the Sultan was furious. He first ordered the unfortunate messenger to be put to death as being a coward to have survived the death of so many brave companions, and then swore a solemn oath that he would not sheath his sword

until he had revenged this act by the slaughter of one hundred thousand infidels. He at once commenced his march, and in a few days reached the Kistna upon the opposite bank of which the Rajah was encamped. The river was then in high flood, and deeming it impossible to carry the whole of his army across in the face of the enemy, he sent the whole back, with the exception of a picked force of nine thousand horse and twenty elephants. With this small army he resolved to attack the Rajah, but as the enterprise seemed to be a desperate one, he appointed his son Mujahid Shah to succeed him with Malek Syef-ud-Din as regent. He then swore that he would neither eat nor sleep until he had crossed the river and put the enemy to flight. That same night the Sultan succeeded in crossing the river, which, as soon as he received the news, so alarmed the Rajah that he sent off all his elephants, baggage and treasure to the capital, meaning to fight the Sultan next morning. It was however the middle of the monsoon and heavy rain was falling. The roads were all impracticable and the elephants and baggage trains could not get on through the mud and slush, so that they were surprised by the Sultan just before dawn. There then followed an utter rout and indiscriminate slaughter. The Rajah himself managed to escape, but he left behind him the whole of his camp and treasure, and no less than seventy thousand Hindoos were put to the sword without regard to age or sex. The plunder was enormous, for without calculating what fell into the hands of the soldiery, the royal share alone is said to have amounted to two thousand elephants, three hundred pieces of cannon, seven hundred Arab horses, and a litter set with jewels. It seems difficult to understand how so large an army could have been so thoroughly defeated by so small a body of men, but apart from the confusion consequent on a night attack in blinding rain, it must be remembered that the Hindoos had little or none of the military discipline enforced by the Ma-

homedans. Under such circumstances their large numbers only served to add to the confusion, and those who could not escape were simply slaughtered like sheep. The Rajah now retired to the other banks of the Tungabadhra and, leaving his nephew in command of Adoni, encamped in the vast plain outside the fort at some distance, and assembled as large an army as possible. This army is said to have consisted of forty thousand horse and five hundred thousand foot, with a number of elephants, but it is probable that these numbers have been greatly exaggerated. The Sultan's army consisted of only fifteen thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, but there was also a train of artillery in which were employed a number of Europeans and Turks. With this army the Sultan crossed the Tungabadhra, this being the first occasion that a Mahomedan Prince had invaded the Vijayanagar dominions in person. The Rajah, Roy Kishen Roy, appointed a relative, named Hoji Mul, to be Commander-in-Chief of his army, and at once despatched him to meet the Sultan. Every endeavour was made by the Hindoos to excite the religious zeal of the soldiers, and Brahmins went about amongst them describing the butchery of cows, the desecration of temples, and the other enormities practised by the Mahomedan invaders. The two armies met somewhere near the Tungabadhra and a furious battle raged from early morning until about four in the afternoon. At first, fortune favoured the Hindoos, both wings of the advance army of the Mahomedans were broken and a defeat had almost ensued when the Sultan himself came up with a reserve of three thousand men. Thus strengthened, the Mahomedan centre advanced, and after a furious artillery fire a general charge was made. The confusion into which the Hindoos were thrown was increased by one of their elephants becoming unmanageable and breaking back through their ranks. Hoji Mul, the Hindoo general, was mortally wounded, and then the Hindoos broke and fled. A general massacre followed,

in which not even pregnant women nor children at the breast were spared, and the vast Hindoo army was utterly broken up. After halting for a week on the field of battle the Sultan advanced to meet Kishen Roy, who thereupon fled to the jungles. The Sultan followed him without success for three months, until at last the Rajah was driven to take refuge in his capital, whereupon the Sultan sat down before Vijayanagar with the whole of his army. This city, however, was too strong to be taken and after a month's siege the Sultan resolved to retire in order to draw the Hindoos out of their works. This *ruse* succeeded, and the Mahomedans recrossed the Tungabadhra followed on all sides by swarms of Hindoos. So completely had the Sultan disguised his intention that the greater part of his army believed that the retreat was a real one, and that the Sultan himself was either dying or dangerously ill. When, however, the army had reached a convenient plain, the Sultan ordered a halt, and assembling his principal officers directed them to hold their troops in readiness for another night attack. Kishen Roy's army was encamped at no great distance, and thinking a victory over the retreating Mahomedans certain, the Rajah and his officers passed the night in drinking and in the company of nautch girls. In the midst of their amusement, however, they were surprised by the Sultan, with such success that they were not even able to offer any opposition, but fled pell-mell. The Rajah managed to escape, but ten thousand of his soldiers were slaughtered and the massacre was extended to the innocent inhabitants of all the villages in the neighbourhood. Immense booty was gained from the plunder obtained from the camp, and the Hindoo power seemed to be entirely crushed. Kishen Roy now sent to treat for peace, and his ambassadors represented to the Sultan that the war might now well cease since he had only vowed to slaughter one hundred thousand Hindoos, and not to exterminate the whole race. The Sultan, however, replied that he would

listen to no negociations until the musicians were satisfied, and the draft he had drawn upon the Vijayanagar treasury had been duly honoured. To this the ambassadors at once agreed, and the money was paid on the spot. The Sultan then exclaimed: "Praise be to God that what I ordered has been performed. I would not let a light word be recorded of me in the pages of time!"

Before returning to Gulburga the Sultan seems to have repented of the fearful slaughter he had wrought, and on the representation of the Hindoos, that, as in the future other wars might occur, it would be advisable to make a treaty to spare the innocent women and children, he swore an oath that in future he would not put to death a single enemy after victory, and would bind his successors to do the same. From that time, says Ferishta, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects.

No sooner had the Sultan returned to Gulburga than he was again called away to Dowlatabad, where a rebellion had broken out. The Governor hearing of the supposed retreat of the Sultan from Vijayanagar, had asserted his independence, and aided by a Mahratta chief named Geodeo, and one of the Rajahs of the Berars, had succeeded in diverting to his own use the revenues of Meerut and Berar. This is the first occasion on which we read of the term Mahratta as referring to a separate and distinct race. Ferishta speaks frequently of the Mahrattas as dwelling in the province of "Mheerut" or "Mharat" but it is probable that the Hindoo derivation of Maharashta, which is generally supposed to refer to the strip of country between Guzerat on the north, and Poonah on the south, is more correct. This region is bounded by the Konkan on the west and the Deccan on the east, and consists of a narrow hilly tract full of inaccessible valleys and thickly wooded hills, the inhabitants of which were from the nature

of their country but little known. As soon as the Sultan heard of this rebellion he ordered his army to march to Dowlatabad, but he himself, followed by a small train of only three hundred horsemen, went on in advance, resolved if possible to put down the rebellion with this small force. Such was the terror of his name that his presence was sufficient to scatter the rebels' army without a blow being struck. The rebel chiefs fled to Dowlatabad, but finding themselves unable to hold the fort, escaped to Guzerat, which at this time seems to have been a kind of sanctuary for every one who was in difficulties. Before going they left their families in the protection of Sheikh Ein-ud-Din, a Mahomedan saint, who lived in Dowlatabad. As soon as the Sultan had taken possession of the fort he sent for the Sheikh, who alone of all other Mahomedan *fakeers* had paid no allegiance to him because of his habit of drinking wine. The Sheikh, however, was not to be intimidated, and sent back as answer the following story: "A scholar, a Syed, and a prostitute were once taken prisoners by the infidels, who promised to give them quarter if they would prostrate themselves before their idols. The scholar to save his life consented and so did the Syed. But the prostitute said: 'I have been all my life committing crimes, and am neither a scholar nor a Syed to atone for this sin by my other virtues. She refused to prostrate herself and was therefore put to death.'" This answer enraged the Sultan, who ordered the Sheikh to leave the city at once. This the holy man did, went to the tomb of Boorahan-ud-Din upon which he seated himself exclaiming "Where is the man who will drive me hence?" The Sultan, admiring this courage then sent him the following verse: "I am submissive to thee, be thou submissive to me." The Sheikh then sent a letter to the Sultan, whom he addressed as Muhammed Ghazi (victorious) and promised to pay him allegiance if, like his father, he would abstain from drinking wine, at all events in public, and would

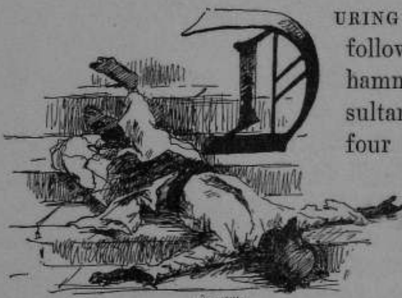
order his judges to enforce the laws against robbers. This delicate compliment appeased the Sultan, who ordered the title *Ghazi* to be added to his other titles, and then received the courageous Sheikh into his favour. True to his promise, on his return to Gulburga, the Sultan ordered all the distilleries to be destroyed, and so strictly enforced the laws against the Deccan banditti, who were even then famed for their lawlessness, that before long eight thousand heads of robbers were sent to the city, and placed on poles outside the gates as a warning to others.

Sultan Muhammed Shah's days of war were now over. The Hindoo Rajahs were reduced to obedience, and his country was quiet and at peace. The last few months of his life were spent in travelling about his kingdom, and in 1374 (19 Zilkad 776) he died full of honours, after a glorious reign of seventeen years.

Muhamed Shah seems to have been a passionate and impulsive Prince, easily offended and given to wrath, and ready to avenge the slightest offence to his dignity. He must, however, have had considerable military talent, and was personally as brave as a lion. His greatest expeditions were undertaken with a comparative handful of men, and by clever stratagems and surprises he was able to defeat an enemy immensely superior in force. The treasure he accumulated at Gulburga is said to have been enormous. "Three thousand elephants and half as much as treasure as any other Prince," was one of the results of his campaigns, but on the other hand another result was that nearly "five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the swords of his warriors in defence of the faith of Islam, by which the districts of Carnatic were so laid waste that they did not recover their natural population for several decades."—(Ferishta).

CHAPTER V.

THE GULBURGA SULTANS FROM 1374—1397, A. D.



DURING the twenty-four years which followed on the death of Muhammed Shah there were five sultans who reigned at Gulburga, four of whom were assassinated, the aggregate duration of whose reigns being only $4\frac{1}{2}$ years. The first of these Princes was Mujahid Shah, the only son left by the late Sultan. He is said to have been a tall, handsome
1374 man of great bodily strength, and of considerable in-
to telligence and education. He chose as his favourite
1377 companions Persians and Turks, and thus sowed the first seeds of the jealousy which, for the last five hundred years, has existed between the Deccannee and foreign Mahomedans. It is mainly due to these jealousies that throughout the rest of the Deccan history we come across the constantly recurring intrigues, plots and assassinations, and which, a hundred and fifty years later, led to the dismemberment of the Gulburga kingdom, and eventually, three hundred years

later, to the absorption of all the Mahomedan States of the Deccan into Aurungzebe's unwieldy empire. Sultan Mujahid was brave but revengeful, and during his father's lifetime committed an act which was destined to bring about his own premature death. When he was fourteen years old, he managed to break open his father's treasury and abstracted some bags of gold, which he divided amongst his playfellows. The treasurer, Mubarik, discovering this, reported the theft to the Sultan, who administered personal chastisement to the young culprit in so severe a manner as to draw blood. The Prince disguised his resentment towards the informer, and pretended an affection for him, until a month later he challenged him to a bout of wrestling, during which he threw him with such violence to the ground that the unfortunate treasurer broke his neck and died on the spot. No sooner had Mujahid ascended the throne than war again broke out between Gulburga and the neighbouring State of Vijayanagar. The cause seems to have been the possession of that debatable territory, the Doab. Mujahid called upon the Rajah to evacuate the whole of the districts between the Tungabadhra and the Kistna, and the Rajah replied by calling upon the Sultan to restore the forts of Raichore and Mudkul which had been conquered by his father, and to restore the elephants which had been given as part of the war indemnity. Mujahid at once marched with a large army and crossed the two rivers, leaving the veteran Seyf-ud-Din Ghoree as regent in his absence. On this occasion the Sultan is said to have killed an enormous tiger on foot by shooting it with an arrow through the heart, an act which struck such terror into the Hindoo Prince that he at once took to the jungles. Mujahid then advanced to Vijayanagar, but finding the city too strong went in pursuit of the Rajah. This pursuit is said to have lasted as far as Rameswaram in the extreme south, where the Sultan is reported to have repaired the mosque built fifty years before by the

Delhi general. There can be no doubt that at this time the rule of the Vijayanagar Prince extended over the whole of Southern India, and that his supremacy was recognized by the Rajahs of Madura and Tanjore. A little bit later we shall come across an instance of this, and it seems clear that at this time the Vijayanagar house was looked upon by all the Princes of Southern India as the head of the Hindoo nation, and as forming the last bulwark against the Mahomedan stream of invasion.

The Rajah seems to have hoped that by leading the Sultan through the jungle, the Mahomedans, who were accustomed to good living, would fall sick, and that he would then be able to harass them on their retreat. The only record of this campaign is to be found in Ferishta, and he says that the Rajah himself was attacked by jungle fever and, therefore, fell back upon his capital. Ferishta merely alludes to the Sultan having destroyed several towns; but as he makes no mention of any plunder, upon which the Mahomedan historians always lay great weight, it is probable that the Sultan was not strong enough to attack any of the great strongholds of the South. He pursued the Rajah back to Vijayanagar, and being joined by fresh forces attempted to besiege the city. It would seem that the Hindoos were dispirited, and the Sultan might have been successful in his attempt if he had not allowed himself to give way to a spirit of fanaticism. Outside the city there was a sacred temple, the shrine of numerous pilgrims. This temple Sultan Mujahid, fired by a zeal, either for religion or for plunder, attacked and destroyed*. Religious feelings,

* The story goes that a number of Brahmins took refuge in the shrine of Hanuman (the favourite monkey-God). They were all put to the sword and Mujahid Shah himself struck the image of the God in the face with his battle-axe, mutilating the features; a dying Brahmin then raised himself with a last effort and exclaimed: "For this act you will never see your kingdom again, and will not return to your capital alive!" A prophecy which proved to be only too true.

outraged in this manner, brought about what a sense of patriotism had not been able to effect. The Hindoos rose to a man, and so threatening was their attitude that the Sultan had to retreat. He was not, however, able to go very far before he was compelled to give the enemy battle. A furious conflict ensued, in which, although it is claimed for the Mahomedans that they killed forty thousand men, still their losses were so considerable that they had to retire. This was effected in good order, the Sultan holding the passes until his army had got through. There seems to be little doubt that on this occasion the Mahomedans suffered a defeat, which, had it not been for the Sultan's personal bravery, would have become a serious disaster. It is stated that it was mainly owing to the disobedience of Daoud Shah, the Sultan's uncle, that the battle was lost. This Prince had neglected to occupy an important post, which, being taken up by the Hindoos, the Mahomedans were compelled to retire. After the battle, the Sultan gave his uncle a sharp reprimand, so severe, indeed, that it rankled in the Prince's bosom, and led eventually to the catastrophe which ended Mujahid's reign. After his retreat from Vijayanagar, the Sultan laid siege to Adoni, but not only was his army greatly reduced in numbers, but it was hampered with an enormous number of prisoners, said to have amounted to between sixty and seventy thousand persons, mostly women. Malek Seyf-ud-din Ghoree who had been left at Gulburga in charge of the Kingdom, now advanced with reinforcements to his master's assistance. This veteran general soon saw that the capture of Adoni was likely to prove a serious matter. It is described as having had fifteen forts, all communicating with one another, and to have been of immense strength. The Vizier advised the Sultan to first of all reduce the forts on the north side of the river, and, in consequence of this advice, the Sultan resolved to raise the siege and retreat to his capital, which, however, he was not destined to reach.

After crossing the Tungabadhra, the Sultan, taking advantage of the peace which his Vizier had succeeded in forming with the Vijayanagar Rajah, left his army with a small bodyguard to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. His uncle, Daoud Khan, who was still sore over the public reprimand that had been administered, resolved to take this opportunity to carry out a conspiracy which he had hatched with the son of Mubarik Khan, the betel-bearer, who was burning to avenge the death of his father caused by the wrestling match, narrated in the beginning of the chapter. Before long, an occasion happened. One day the Sultan was amusing himself with fishing, but, being seized with a sudden pain in the eyes, retired to sleep in his tent alone. That night Daoud Khan and his fellow conspirators entered the tent with their daggers drawn. The Sultan's only attendant was an Abyssinian slave, who was rubbing his feet. He at once raised an alarm, but it was too late. Daoud Khan plunged his dagger into the Sultan's stomach, and Musaoud Khan, the son of the betel-bearer, then cut down the slave and gave the finishing stroke to the Sultan. As Mujahid left no children, his uncle, Daoud Shah, became the heir to the throne, and after having made the army swear allegiance to him, he marched upon Gulburga and ascended the throne amidst great pomp and magnificence. This deed of blood soon brought about its own revenge. Sultan Mujahid, who had just been murdered, was the grandson of the aged Vizier Sayf-ud-din Ghoree, whose daughter had been married to Sultan Muhammed. The old man asked to be allowed to resign his office, and he was permitted to retire. The rest of the Royal family appear to have acquiesced in the change of affairs, with one exception, the sister of the murdered Sultan, Rûh Parwar Ageh. This princess was looked upon by the rest of the ladies as the head of the harem, and she did not find it difficult to induce a young man, a favourite of the late Sultan, to avenge his patron's murder. The assassin's name is not mentioned,

but the deed was committed in the mosque whilst the Sultan was prostrated in prayer. With one blow of the sabre he was killed, the murderer falling immediately afterwards by the sword of Khan Mahomed. In this way died Daoud Shah, the fourth Sultan of Gulburga after a short reign of one month and five days (A.D. 1378). There were four heirs to the throne after Daoud Shah's death, his son Mahomed Sunjer, nine years of age, together with two younger sons, Firoze and Ahmed, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, and the last surviving son of the first Sultan, Mahmood Shah, brother of Daoud Shah. Both these princes were in the harem, in the power of that strong-minded Princess Rûh Parwar Ageh. Khan Mahomed wished to place the former on the throne, but the Princess shut the gates and swore that the son of an assassin should never be Sultan with her consent. In order to prevent all further intrigue, she caused the poor little boy to be blinded and at once caused Mahmood Shah to be proclaimed. In this way the sins of the father were visited upon his innocent offspring.

Sultan Mahmood is said to have been a wise and humane prince. His first act was to punish the murderers of his
1378. nephew Mujahid. Khan Mahomed was imprisoned
1396. in the fort of Saugur, where he shortly afterwards
died, and Musaoud Khan, the son of the betel-bearer, was impaled alive. It cannot be said that their punishments were not deserved, and, this act of retributive justice over, the new Sultan's reign, was devoted to peace, and the cultivation of literature and science. Seyf-ud-Din Ghoree was again appointed Vizier, though he was then nearly ninety years old. During a reign of more than nineteen years, the country was troubled by no wars, and it was only towards the end of this period that one rebellion occurred which, however, was promptly suppressed. So wide did the name of this Sultan spread, that poets and learned men from all parts of the Mahomedan

world flocked to the Court of Gulburga to share in his bounty. In return, they bestowed upon him the title of the Mahomedan Aristotle. The great Persian poet Hafiz even started to come to Gulburga, and got so far on his journey as to put to sea in the Persian Gulf. A heavy storm, however, came on, and the ship had to put back. Hafiz had had enough of sea voyages, and seems to have thought that the game of court favour was not worth the candle of seasickness and possible shipwreck, so he had himself reconducted to land, and, instead of his own person, sent the Sultan an ode. Put into rough English, the ode would run as follows:—

For the wealth of the world I will not exchange
The wind of my garden which softly blows;
My friends may rebuke me, but I will not range:
I will stop here at home with the bulbul and rose;

Enticing, no doubt, is your beautiful crown,
With costliest gems in a fair golden bed;
But through perils and risks that ominous frown,
I might win it, perhaps, but then have no head.

When I thought of your pearls, it seemed then to me
To risk a short voyage would not be too bold;
But now I am sure, one wave of the sea
Can *not* be repaid by treasures of gold.

What care I for pearls or for gems rich and rare
When friendship and love at home both are mine?
All the gilding of art can never compare
With the pleasure derived from generous wine!

Let Hafiz retire from the cares of the world,
Contented with only few pieces of gold;
In the lap of repose here let him lie curled,
Far removed from the sea and its dangers untold!

When this ode was read to the Sultan, he was so pleased that he observed that as Hafiz had actually started with the

intention of coming to Gulburga, he was entitled to some recognition, even although he was not able to complete his journey. Accordingly, he had a thousand pieces of gold brought from the treasury, with which he ordered one of his courtiers to purchase specimens of Indian art and send them to the poet. This was accordingly done, and Hafiz received a splendid payment for his little ode. Sultan Mahmood was a very temperate man, both in his habit of living and of dress. Though fond in his youth of rich and costly attire, after his accession to the throne he wore nothing but plain white. He was in the habit of saying that kings were only trustees of the divine riches, and that to expend more than was actually necessary was to commit a breach of trust. This is a maxim which it were well all kings would bear in mind, but it is one unfortunately that is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Great care and attention appears to have been bestowed during this reign on education, and schools were established at all the principal towns, and, amongst others, Gulburga, Bieder, Candahar, Elichpore, Doulatabad, Choule and Dabul. On occasion of a famine, the Sultan employed ten thousand bullocks in bringing grain from Malwa and Guzerat, which was then retailed to the poor at a low price. Shortly before the Sultan's death occurred the sole rebellion of his reign, to which we have already alluded. It was organized by Bahaud-din, the Governor of Dowlatabad, together with his two sons, but was quickly suppressed and the leaders of the revolt were killed. In A.D., 1396 (21st Rajab 799) the Sultan died of a putrid fever, and the day after the patriarch Seyf-ud-din Ghoree, who had accompanied the first Sultan from Dowlatabad to Gulburga, and who had ruled the country as Prime Minister for more than half a century, also passed away at the age of one hundred and seven years. Sultan Mahmood reigned nineteen years nine months and twenty-four days.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BAHMANEE SULTANS.

- ALLAH-UD-DIN 1 (1347—57)
  - MUHAMMED SHAH I 2 (1357—74)
    - MUJAHID SHAH 3 (1374—77)
  - DAUOD SHAH 4 (1378)
    - M. SUNJER blinded
    - FIROZE SHAH 8 (1396—1422)
    - AHMED SHAH I 9 (1422—34)
      - ALLAH-UD-DIN II 10 (1434—57)
        - HUMAYUN 11 (1457—60)
          - NIZAM SHAH 12 (1460—62)
          - MUHAMMED SHAH II 13 (1462—82)
            - MAHMOOD SHAH II 14 (1482—1518)
              - AHMED SHAH II 15 (1518—20)
                - KULLEEM ULLA 18 (1522—1526)
              - ALLAH-UD-DIN III 16 (1520)
              - WULLEE ULLA 17 (1520—22)
        - HOOSSAIN KHAN
      - MUHAMMED KHAN
  - MAHMOOD SHAH 5 (1378—96)
    - GHAZI-UD-DIN 6 (1396)
    - SHUMS-UD-DIN 7 (1396)

CHAPTER VI.

SULTANS GHAZI-UD-DIN AND SHUMS-UD-DIN.

THESE two Sultans commenced and ended their reigns in the short period of six months. They were both sons of
A.D. Mahmood Shah. The eldest was Ghazi-ud-Din, who
1396 ascended the throne at the age of seventeen. He seems to have been an amiable young Prince, but he was unfortunate in at once exciting the jealousy of a powerful Turkish slave of the late Sultan, named Lallcheen. This person desired the post of Meer Nobut, or Lord of the Watch, for his son Hussan Khan,

and when he expostulated with the Sultan for bestowing it upon another, he was told that it was not right that the sons of slaves should be promoted above the heads of the old nobility. Stung by this retort, Lallcheen resolved upon revenge, and he carried out his plan in the following manner:—The young Sultan was desirous of obtaining Lallcheen's daughter, and, accordingly, the slave invited his master to a feast. When the Sultan was half intoxicated with wine, Lallcheen drew him on one side as if to take him to the female apartments. When he had taken him into another room, he fell upon him, threw him down, and gouged out his eyes with a dagger. He then called in each of the attendants, one by one, and put them to death singly to the number of twenty-one persons so that no one remained alive powerful enough to obstruct his designs. The Sultan was then sent to the fort of Saugur, and his younger brother, Shums-ud-Din, was placed upon the throne. The reign of the unfortunate Ghazi-ud-Din lasted only one month and twenty days (17 Ramzan 799) (1396 A.D.).

Sultan Shums-ud-Din was only fifteen years old when he ascended the throne. Intimidated by the fate of his brother, he left all the power in the hands of Lallcheen. The latter, the more to strengthen his position, commenced an intrigue with the Sultan's mother, and in this way was able to do what he liked with the young Prince. As was to be expected, this absolute power soon excited the jealousy of the other members of the Royal Family. Sultan Daood Khan (the murderer of Sultan Mujahid Shah) had left three sons. The eldest of these, Mahomed Sunjer had, it will be remembered, been blinded, but there were two younger brothers, Feroze Khan and Ahmed Khan, who married two daughters of the late Sultan Mahmood Shah. They were therefore brothers-in-law and cousins of the unfortunate Ghazi-ud-Din, who had enjoyed so brief a period of power. Their wives incited these

princes to avenge their brother which they resolved to do. Lallcheen, getting wind of this conspiracy sent orders to have the Princes killed, but they managed to escape in time and took refuge in the fort of Saugur which was commanded by one Suddoo, a slave of the royal family, who received them with kindness and respect. Here they found the poor young blinded Sultan Ghazi-ud-Din, and the three resolved to strike a blow to recover the throne. They gathered together an army, and marched upon Gulburga, but were defeated with considerable loss and had to fly again to Saugur. Flushed with this success, the insolence of Lallcheen overstepped all bounds. The Sultan Shums-ud-Din was treated as a mere puppet, and his mother no longer made any disguise of her intrigue with Lallcheen. This conduct so disgusted the chief noblemen that they entered into correspondence with the two Princes, who now resolved to attempt by stratagem what they had not been able to accomplish by force. Accordingly, they sent letters to Lallcheen and the Queen-mother praying for forgiveness and asking to be allowed to return to Gulburga. Lallcheen, delighted at the chance of getting the Princes into his power, at once consented, and they accordingly returned. For the first few days they remained quiet on their guard, and then carried out their plot by a surprise. Feroze Khan appeared in the Durbar with twelve followers, leaving three hundred adherents outside. The porters at the gate attempted to stop him, but they were at once cut down, and the Prince followed by his twelve friends rushed into the hall, leaving the gates guarded by the three hundred. The Sultan fled to an under-ground chamber, and Lallcheen's sons, who attempted to defend themselves, were cut down. Lallcheen was then taken and bound, and Feroze ascended the throne which bore his own name. Vengeance upon Lallcheen was reserved for the hand of his unfortunate victim Ghazi-ud-Din, who was sent for from Saugur. Lallcheen was placed, bound, before the

blind prince, who called for a sword and killed him with one stroke. Ghazi-ud-Din, incapacitated by his blindness for Government, then asked to be allowed to go to Mecca. This request was granted, and we are told that the ex-Sultan lived for many years in that city provided with a liberal allowance from his cousin Feroze Shah. Shums-ud-Din, the boy king of fifteen, was then blinded and sent in captivity to Bieder, and so the country was once more restored to peace. Shums-ud-Din reigned only five months and seven days.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CITY AND KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR.

IT is necessary at this part of the history of the Deccan to glance at the manner in which Vijayanagar had risen to be so formidable a rival of the Mahomedan power. There can be little doubt that previous to the 14th Century, Vijayanagar was a place of such insignificance that it was entirely unknown. It may have been the residence of a petty Chieftain, and it is possible that the founders of the new city, Bukha Raya and Hari Hara, may have belonged to his family, and have returned thither after the fall of Warangal in 1323. The foundation of Vijayanagar is

generally ascribed to the year 1336 A.D., and its completion to the year 1343, or a few years previous to the foundation of the Gulburga kingdom (1348), and there seems to be no doubt that the rapid growth of the young Hindoo Kingdom was in a great measure due to Sri Maha Vidyáranya, the eleventh successor of Sankaracharíar; (according to Dr. Burnell, than whom there can be no safer guide), the same as Sáyana, the famous commentator on the Vedas. This sage's monastery was situated at Shringeri, in the Kadoor Taluq of West Mysore. Tradition says that after the fall of Warangal, the two brothers came to the sage and asked for help. The Hindoo High Priest was not slow to recognize the critical position. The fall of Deogiri and Warangal had left Southern India entirely unprotected from the invasions of the Mahomedans, and it was therefore absolutely necessary that a new bulwark of protection should be raised against this dangerous foe. It is said that the deity appeared to the sage in a vision, and revealed to him the existence of a hidden treasure, which he, recognizing their fitness for the new task, bestowed upon the two brothers, and with this money they founded the new city, which, in honour of their patron, they called Vidhyanagar. It is a strange thing that throughout the whole of Indian history we frequently find the foundation of a new city or dynasty connected with the finding of a hidden treasure. No doubt the custom of hoarding money goes back to the most ancient times, but it is also exceedingly possible that these hidden treasures were in reality mines, either of gold or precious stones, the existence of which was kept a profound secret. Within a few years after the founding of the new kingdom, its authority extended to the Western Coast. The great Mahomedan traveller, Ibn Batuta, who visited the Kánara Coast in 1342, says that at Honávar (the modern Honor) he found a Mahomedan Prince named Jamal-ud-Din, who was subject to an infidel King named Hariab (evidently

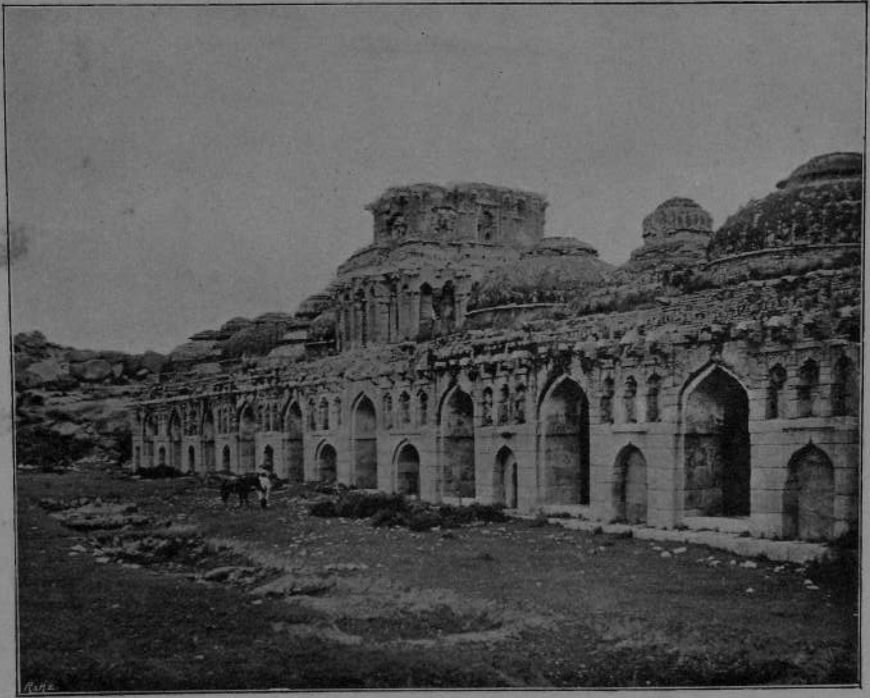
Hari Hara, or, as he is styled, Hariyappa) of Vijayanagar. It is probable that, owing to the influence of the sage Vidyáranya, all the Hindoo Kings of Southern India recognized the mission of the Vijayanagar Kings to protect them against the Mahomedans, and paid tribute in treasure and men for this purpose. On more than one occasion we find the Madura Kings recognizing the King of Vijayanagar as their overlord, and appealing to him for assistance. The resources thus placed at the disposal of the new kingdom were therefore enormous, and in a very short time its power and influence overshadowed that of all the other Hindoo kingdoms of South India. For more than two hundred years Vijayanagar performed its duty as Warden of the Hindoo marches, and during the constant wars that took place with the Mahomedan Princes she was as often victorious as she was conquered. Even when defeated, the Hindoos were able to at once replace the beaten armies by fresh levies, so that the Mahomedans were never able to get a firm footing in the Hindoo country until the final downfall of the kingdom. It was only seldom, indeed, that they were able to advance beyond the Tungabadhra, and the Raichore Doab or country between the Tungabadhra and the Kistna appears to have been the scene of most of the battles.

Vijayanagar lies on the right or south bank of the River Tungabadhra, which here rushes through some rocky hills and forms a wide bend. About ten miles further south there is a range of hills about 3,000 feet above the sea which form, as it were, a natural barrier. These hills shut in an extensive plain and the city itself was built in the north corner of this plain. The site of the city is full of rocky hills, some of which must be nearly 1,000 feet high, but most of which are only a few hundred feet. These hills are formed of huge boulders of stones piled upon each other in such a way as to form an almost insurmountable barrier. In order to fortify the city all that was required was to connect these hills by

walls, which has been done in almost every instance. In this way the city was defended by a series of walls, the outermost one of which is said to have enclosed a space eight miles across (*Nicolo Conti*, early in the 15th Century, says that the city was sixty miles round). These walls seem all to have terminated in a rocky range of hills which intervened between the city and the river, thus rendering any approach from the river side impossible. Floating down the river now in boats from Humpi, the South-Westmost part of the city, there is nothing to show that on the other side of the rocks there are the ruins of what must have been a vast city. The stone piles of the old bridge communicating with the northern shore are still standing, but the approach to this bridge on the Vijayanagar side was by a natural tunnel through the hill, which could easily be defended by a small body of men against a large army. The only way in which the city could be approached was, therefore, from the south and southeast. At this latter point, advantage was taken of the lie of the country to build a large tank. The bund of this tank forms a natural rampart about a mile long. The water is about twenty feet in depth at the bund, and spreads over an area of at least three to four square miles. This large sheet of water would, therefore, form an insuperable obstacle to the attack of an army, and there remains, therefore, only the south-west from which the city could be attacked. Near the Calingula, or weir, at the western end of the tank bund, a massive wall runs off which probably formed the outer defence of the inhabited portion of the city. The moat of this wall was easily filled from the Calingula, and at different points the wall was defended by forts aud redoubts, until at last it joined the rocky range of hills before alluded to. Immediately within this wall there were rice fields and gardens fed with water from the tank, and then came the different portions of the city each defended by its wall and rocky hills.

In the centre of the city, or innermost ring, was the King's palace, the mint and the palace of the Commander-in-Chief. The King's palace is said to have been on a hill, and formed the highest portion of the city. If so, all traces of it have now disappeared. At the foot of the hill there is still to be seen the ruins of what must have been a harem, or zenaña, with a range of elephant stables and a concert hall. On the hill behind there are some old ruins. Possibly the palace was built here, but, if so, it is now impossible to identify it.

The first King was Hari Hara, and the date of his reign is ascribed to 1336—1350. He was followed by his brother, Bukka or Bukka Raya, who reigned till 1379, when he was succeeded by Hari Hara II., who reigned till 1401. This Prince, together with his son, Deva Raya (1401—1451), greatly extended the power of the kingdom, and added to the splendour of the city. A difference will be noticed in the names of these Kings and those with whom we find the Gulburga Sultans in conflict. The King of Vijayanagar, who so frequently fought with Muhammed Shah and Mujahid Shah of Gulburga (1357—1377) is called by Ferishta Krishen Roy or Raya. According to the dates, this King must, in reality, have been Bukka Raya, and it is impossible to explain how Ferishta gets the name of Krishen Roy. Muhammed Shah, as already related, no doubt committed a terrible slaughter amongst the Hindoos, but under Mujahid the Hindoo King certainly inflicted one severe defeat, which would have turned into a disaster, if the Sultan had not been able to hold the passes of the hills, which protect Vijayanagar on the south East, whilst the main army passed through. It was during the reign of Deva Raya that we have the first authentic account by a traveller of the city of Vijayanagar. Abd-er-Razzak, the Persian Ambassador, visited the city at the end of April, 1443, and found it "an exceedingly large and populous city, the seat of a King of great power, whose



ELEPHANT STABLES.

kingdom stretched from Ceylon to Gulburga and from Bengal to Malabar." (This latter must be an exaggeration, for it is certain that the Vijayanagar dominions never extended north of the Kistna River.)

"Most of the land was tilled and fertile, and there were about 300 seaports equal to Kalikat. There were 1,000 elephants, and over a million men. There was no actual "Rai" in India, except the King of Vijayanagar. The city had seven fortified walls, one within the other. The first or outmost circle enclosed a space of eight miles (two *parasangs*) across. Between the first, second, and third circles of wall were fields and gardens, and from the third to the seventh or inmost circle, the space was crowded with markets and shops. The seventh centre was on a hill, and in it was the palace of the King and four markets with a lofty arcade, and a magnificent gallery at the head of each. The markets were broad and long. There were always sweet and fresh flowers, and the different crafts had separate quarters. Many streams flowed along polished and level stone channels. On the right of the palace, which was the loftiest building in the city, was a pillared hall in which the Minister did justice. On the left was the mint, with hollow chambers full of masses of molten gold. Opposite the mint was the police office with 12,000 soldiers. Behind the mint was a market 300 yards long by twenty broad, where the dancing girls lived, very beautiful, rich and accomplished. The King was exceedingly young, of a spare body, rather tall and of an olive complexion. During Abd-er-Razzak's stay at Vijayanagar, the brother of the King killed many of the leading nobles, and all but succeeded in assassinating the King. The King sat on a throne of gold, inlaid with jewels, and the walls of the throne room were lined with plates of gold. During part of the time Abd-er-Razzak was there, a Christian was Minister; there was a wonderful festival at "Dassara" time, or *Mahan-*

avami, the September full moon. The great plain near the city was filled with enchanting pavilions covered with most delicate and tasteful pictures of animals, and there was one pillared mansion, nine stories high, for the King. For three days, with a most gorgeous display, dancing girls danced and sang, fireworks blazed, and showmen and jugglers performed wonderful feats. Abd-er-Razzak left Vijayanagar on the 5th of November, 1443, and reached Mangalore on the 23rd of the same month. It was impossible within reasonable space to give an idea of how well the country was peopled. All the people, high and low, even the workers in market places, wore jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears, round their necks, arms, and wrists, and fingers. From Mangalore he went to the port of Honavar or Honor, and there arranged for a vessel to take him back to Persia. He started on the 28th of January, and reached Ormuz on the 22nd* of April, after a voyage of sixty-five days."

Of the seven walls of which Abd-er-Razzak speaks, it is probable that the two outer ones were merely rows of forts. The village of Hospett, seven miles from the ruins, is still called the eighth gate of the ancient city; but a wall at this part enclosing a space eight miles across would have been a work too gigantic even for those days of forced labour. Nor is it likely that all traces of so large a work should have disappeared, and at present there is no sign of any wall until the Calingula of the tank is reached. The space enclosed by this latter wall might possibly be eight square miles or more, but cannot be more than about three miles across. Within these walls there are remains of many other walls, but, as said above, they do not form separate enceintes, but are for the most part connecting-links between different rocky hills. Abd-er-Razzak probably entered the city by means of seven different gates, and the distance between the outer and the

* Bombay Gazetteer—Kanara. Vol. XV, Part II.

inner gates was very possibly eight miles. This view is confirmed by the account of the Italian traveller, Vartherna, who visited Vijayanagar in 1503. He says that the city "stood on the side of a mountain with three circles of walls, the outermost circle seven miles round." This would exactly correspond with the wall leading from the tank-bund, and the other two inner circles can also be traced. Vartherna says that the King was the richest he had ever heard of. "His Brahmans said that he had £4,000 a day. He was always at war. He had 40,000 horsemen, whose horses were worth £100 to £226 each, for horses were scarce; 400 elephants; and some dromedaries. He was a great friend of the Christians, and the Portuguese did him much honour. He wore a cap of gold brocade, and when he went to war, a quilted dress of cotton with an over-garment full of golden piastres, and hung with jewels. The ornaments on his horse were worth more than an Italian city. He rode out with three or four kings, many lords, and five or six thousand horses." In 1514 another traveller, Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese, says:—"Vijayanagar was on a level ground surrounded by a very good wall on one side, a river on a second side, and a mountain on a third. It was very large and very populous. There were many large and handsome palaces, and wide streets and squares. The King, a Gentile (= Gentoo) called Raheni, that is, Rayalu, always lived in the city. He lived very luxuriously and seldom left the palace. He was nearly white, well-made, and had smooth black hair. The attendance on the King was by women, who all lived in the palaces. They sang and played and amused the King in a thousand ways. They went to bathe daily, and the King went to see them bathe, and sent to his chamber the one that pleased him most, and the first son he had from any of them inherited the Kingdom. Many litters and many horsemen stood at the door of the palace. The King kept 900 elephants, each worth

1,500 to 2,000 ducats and 20,000 horses worth 300 to 600 ducats, and some of the choicest worth 1,000 ducats. The King had more than 100,000 men, horse and foot, and 5,000 women in his pay. The women went with the army, but did not fight, but their lovers fought for them very vigorously. When the King, which occasionally happened, went in person to war, he camped at some distance from the city, and ordered all people to join him within a certain number of days. At the end of the days he gave orders to burn the whole city, except his palaces, and some of the nobles' palaces, that all might go to the war and die with him.

"Among his knights many had come from different parts to take service, and did not cease to live in their own creeds. In times of peace the city was filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations. There were very rich local Gentiles, many Moorish merchants and traders, and an infinite number of others from all parts. They dwelt freely and safely in what creed they chose, whether Moor, Christian, or Gentile. The governors observed strict justice, and there was an infinite trade. Great quantities of precious stones poured into Vijayanagar, jewels from Pegu, diamonds from the Deccan, and also from a Vijayanagar mine, and pearls from Ormuz and from Cael in South India." *

One passage in this extract is especially important, as it supplies a reason why the only ruins of this large city are temples and a few public buildings. If the homes of the common people were liable to be burnt whenever the King went to war, they must, of course, have been built of the most unsubstantial materials. When Vijayanagar finally fell after the battle of Tellicotta (1565) the Mahomedans probably found the city in such a half-ruined state. The King had strained every nerve to meet the allied Mahomedan kings, and had possibly burnt the greater part of the city. All that the

* (*Ibid*).

Mahomedans found, therefore, were temples and public buildings, which they ruthlessly destroyed. In many of the temples it is still clearly visible how the pavement was torn up in order to search for hidden treasure. Of the public buildings, the most interesting ruins are: The elephant stables, very substantially built, and in a very good state of preservation and a grand stand where the King used to sit and watch the sports in the arena below. This stand is covered on all sides with excellent carvings in bas-relief of animals, sports, &c. On the north side the walls are hidden by *débris;* but a portion has been excavated, exposing some very delicate carving in an excellent state of preservation. Near the arena are the remains of an aqueduct, each section of which is built out of solid stone. The channel is a foot and a half wide by a foot deep. In communication with this aqueduct are the remains of a covered bath, evidently of Mahomedan architecture. This possibly is the bath which the King used to visit, as there are screened and latticed apartments like private boxes from which he could watch the bathers. Abd-er-Razzak speaks of the water flowing through the streets, and of the different handicrafts being located together. A very interesting example of this lies not far from the bath. There are the remains of a street, by the side of which is a stone channel, and on either side of the channel are a large number of square slabs of black stone with a round excavation like a plate in the middle, by the side of which are two, three, and sometimes five smaller excavations. These slabs were used for eating. The middle excavation was meant for rice, and the neighbouring ones for condiments. Here, probably, were the public eating houses. A traveller who wanted to dine came and sat down at a slab, and was served with his food, and he probably paid according to the kind of slab he selected. A five-condiment dinner cost more than one with only two. After eating he washed his hands in the channel, and then went away. These

eating-slabs are probably in exactly the same position now as they were when they were last used, for they are of no value to the thief and are too heavy to be moved. Placed as they are, they form an interesting relic of Hindoo life of five hundred years ago.

The principal ruins are those of temples, of which there is an enormous number. They are scattered about everywhere, on the tops of hills and on the level ground. The most important of these are that of Hazára Ramaswamy, in the inner circle near the King's palace, with some beautifully carved pillars in black granite; the large temple at Humpi, which is in good repair and is even now largely frequented, and the temple of Vittelaswamy near the river. The latter has some beautifully carved pillars of a very rare and elegant pattern, and in front of the temple is what is probably a unique piece of carving in the shape of a large stone car, modelled on the pattern of an ordinary wooden car. This car unfortunately shows a number of cracks, and was in danger of falling to pieces; but the present Collector of Bellary Mr. R. Sewell, since retired, who takes not only an archæological, but also a keen personal interest in the ruins of this old city, has had the heavy superstructure of brickwork, with which the car was loaded, removed, and, relieved from this superincumbent weight, it is to be hoped that the car will stand for many more years to come, though it might be advisable to have it protected from the ravages caused by the weather.

At present the only two portions of the city which are inhabited are Kamalapoor, at the southwest end of the tank, which is called after its name, and Humpi, in the southwest corner of the city near the river. Kamalapur is a small village, the houses of which have a substantial appearance, being built from the stones of one of the walls. Here there is a small bungalow constructed out of an old temple.

A winding road leads from here through the ruins of the old city, past old temples and through crumbling gateways until Humpi is reached. Here there are the remains of a broad street fringed by what were shops and possibly noblemen's houses; some of these are pretentious, having columns in front, and a few of them are still inhabited. At the north end of this street is the temple, one of the towers or Goparams of which, was rebuilt by a former Collector of Bellary, Mr. Robertson, whose name is held in high reverence in consequence. None of the temples in or near the old city are of later date than the 14th Century, with the exception of one or two very small buildings, which Mr. Sewell is of opinion may be of an older period. This shows that, previous to the 14th Century, the place was one of insignificance, and that the whole of the vast mass of temples, which must at one time have existed, are due to the liberality of the Kings of the new dynasty. At present the very name of Vijayanagar seems in danger of being forgotten. The ruins are generally called the ruins of Humpi, and many who are familiar with that name are unaware that they form the only remains of what was once the largest and richest Hindoo city of Southern India. On the north bank of the river there was once a large suburb which was also defended by walls; a portion of this suburb now forms the small village of Anagoondy, where lives, in sadly reduced circumstances, the sole representative of the Vijayanagar Kings. But, poor though he is, he is still looked upon by all the inhabitants of the district with great respect, and whenever there is a family festival in his house, the Baiders turn out in large numbers to do him honour, and prostrate themselves before him when he appears in public. He is, however, but the shadow of a once great name.

CHAPTER VIII.

SULTANS FEROZE SHAH AND AHMED SHAH.

1397 to 1422

SULTAN Feroze Shah reigned for twenty-five years, and under his rule the kingdom of Gulburga may be said to have reached its highest point of prosperity. He made twenty-four glorious campaigns; conquered the greater part of Telingana, and compelled the King of Vijayanagar to give him one of his daughters in marriage. It is said of him that he was strict in his religious observances, with the exception of drinking wine and listening to music, but he consoled himself for committing these two offences against Islam by saying that "music lifted his mind to contemplate the divinity, and that wine did not make

him passionate, and, therefore, he hoped that hereafter he would not be questioned about them, but find mercy from a forgiving Creator."

Feroze Shah paid very great attention to the development of trade, and every year despatched vessels from the ports of Goa and Choule. These ships not only brought back merchandize of different countries, but, the captains were also charged to invite persons celebrated for their talents to visit the Sultan's Court. Another kind of visitors in whom the Sultan delighted were women, and in his harem were females of all nations: Arabians, Circassians, Georgians, Turks, Russians, Europeans, Chinese, Afghans, Rajputs, Bengalis, Guzeratees, Telinganees, and others. We are told that he could speak with each in her own language, but this is doubtless an exaggeration.

In the second year of the Sultan's reign, war broke out with the King of Vijayanagar whom Ferishta names Dewul Roy. According to the Hindoo inscriptions, the King of Vijayanagar in 1398 was Hari Hara II. The words "Deva" are more honorific titles than actual names. Almost all Hindoo Kings termed themselves Deva, and Roy or Raya is simply another form of Rajah. The names therefore of the Hindoo Kings as given by Mahomedan historians are not to be relied upon. The real names as now ascertained are derived from inscriptions which are far more to be depended upon, although not always absolutely so. The Vijayanagar King invaded the Doab with a large army in order to possess himself of Mudkul. At the same time the Rajah of the Telingana, (Nursinga) country, invaded the Berars, and the Sultan had to detach a large portion of his troops to defend this portion of his dominions. When the Sultan reached the river Kistna, he found the Vijayanagar forces camped on the other side, and the river being in flood, he was unable to cross. A Kazi in the Sultan's army, named Siraj, offered to cross the river and secure a passage. This he did by a most daring adventure. The Kazi

with seven of his friends disguised themselves as religious mendicants, and crossing the river went to that part of the Rajah's Camp, which was frequented by dancing girls. The Kazi pretended to fall in love with the chief of these, and when night came on, and he found that the girl was going to an entertainment at the tent of the Rajah's son, he persuaded her to take him with her as one of the musicians, he being well-skilled in performing on the mandel, or Hindoo lute. This the girl consented to, and in the midst of the entertainment, whilst performing a dagger dance, the Kazi and one of his friends rushed in on the Rajah's son, and plunged their daggers into his body. In the confusion that ensued, the lights were extinguished and a number of Hindoos killed; a report was spread that the Sultan had crossed the river, and the whole camp was in a state of alarm. In the meantime the Sultan did actually cross with about four thousand picked men, and effected a landing without opposition. Surprised in this manner the whole army took to flight, and the King fled to Vijayanagar, where he shut himself up, an immense number of Hindoos being slain. A peace very shortly ensued, and the Rajah paid as a ransom for the Brahmins who had been captured eleven lakhs of pagodas, or *Hoons* or *Huns*; and upon this the Sultan returned to Gulburga. In the following year, he marched to punish Nursinga, who was driven out of Berar without much difficulty, and compelled to shut himself up in Kurleh, one of his own forts. Here after a siege of two months, he surrendered and went in person to the Sultan's camp at Ellichpore to make his submission. He was pardoned and reinstated, and is said to have been submissive thereafter. In 1401 Feroze Shah sent ambassadors to Timur the great conqueror, and proffered his allegiance. This was graciously accepted, and in return the Sultan was named sovereign of Malwa and Guzerat in addition to the Deccan. Considering, however, that both Malwa and Guzerat were already in the possession of two Mahomedan

Princes, this was something like dividing the lion's skin before the animal had been killed, and the sole result was to raise up two new enemies in the Kings, who feared that their dominions would be attacked. These princes at once formed a secret alliance with the King of Vijayanagar, who, being

assured of their assistance, discontinued paying any tribute. At first Feroze Shah did not feel himself in a position to resent this disobedience, but before long the smouldering quarrel broke into an open flame, and the ostensible cause was, as so often happens—a woman. In the fort of Mudkul there was a Hindoo farmer who had a beautiful daughter, who, contrary to the usual custom among Hindoos, had reached maturity without being married. A Brahmin returning from Benares saw this village beauty, and was so much struck with her that he remained a year and a half in her father's house, and instructed her in music and dancing. When her education was completed the Brahmin went to Vijayanagar, and reported to the King the existence of this peerless maiden. The King at once sent him back to Mudkul with orders to bring the maiden and her parents to Vijayanagar as he proposed to make the young lady his wife. This, no doubt,

was a great honour, but still it was one that had its drawbacks. Nicolo Conti, to whom allusion has already been made, writing between 1420 and 1440, says that the King of Vijayanagar had 12,000, wives of whom 4,000 went on foot and served in his kitchen, 4,000 went on horseback, and 4,000 were carried in litters. Of the litter ladies 2,000 were chosen as wives on condition that they would burn when the King died. Now it is possible that the educated beauty of Mudkul knew of this custom, and did not relish having some day to perform the rite of Suttee. At all events the young lady declined the offer, and refused to accept the jewels which had been sent her. The reason she assigned was her love for her parents, because when once she should be made the wife of the King, she would be separated from them, and never see them again. Accordingly, the Brahmin was sent back with all his presents a disappointed man. After he had gone, the girl told her parents that she had long had an inward persuasion that she should become the wife of a great prince of Islam, and that, therefore, they must not be angry with her for refusing the Hindoo King. When the Brahmin reported the failure of his mission, the King's love became more inflamed than ever, and he resolved to carry off the fair Pertal—for this was her name—by force, even though in order to do so he had to invade the Sultan's country, for Mudkul was in the possession of Feroze Shah. Accordingly, he assembled an army, crossed the Tungabadhra, and marched upon Mudkul. Unfortunately, however, he stopped before he reached the fort, and the consequence was that the inhabitants, hearing of the approach of this large army, became alarmed and left the town. Amongst these were Pertal and her parents. The Vijayanagar troops had accordingly to retire without their expected prize, but on their way back they burnt and destroyed several villages and towns. When Feroze Shah heard of this unprovoked and insolent invasion, he assembled an army, and

crossing the two rivers laid siege to Vijayanagar. Deva Raya was the Hindoo King, and he seems to have successfully defended his city. The Mahomedans were repulsed, and the Sultan himself wounded. In fact so hard pressed were the Sultan's forces that they had to withdraw into the plain, and entrench themselves in order to keep off the Hindoos. Deva Raya does not seem to have been able to force them from this position, and accordingly sent for assistance from his allies of Malwa and Guzerat. In the meantime, another army of the Sultan, commanded by his brother Ahmed, laid the Vijayanagar country waste, and rejoined Feroze in his camp with a large amount of booty and sixty thousand prisoners. The Sultan then left his brother Ahmed in the entrenched camp, and went with the rest of the army to besiege Adoni. In the meantime, the Rajah's application for assistance from Malwa and Guzerat had proved unsuccessful. His allies either could not or would not give him help, and he, therefore, found himself obliged to sue for peace. At first the Sultan refused, but at last agreed, under the condition, however, that in addition to an enormous indemnity he would give him his daughter in marriage. The indemnity consisted of ten laks of pagodas, five maunds of pearls (the maund of S. India is equal to 28 pounds), fifty choice elephants, and two thousand men and women slaves, in addition to the fort of Beekapore as a marriage portion. The first of these conditions was probably the most irksome one, but the Hindoo King was obliged to comply. The Sultan's brother went into the city of Vijayanagar, and brought out the bride, whereupon the marriage was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. After the marriage had been celebrated, Feroze Shah paid Deva Raya a visit with his bride. The incident is thus related by Ferishta:

"A day having been fixed, he with the bride proceeded to Vijayanagar, leaving the camp in charge of Khan Khanan

(his brother Ahmed). On the way he was met by Deva Raya with great pomp. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of nearly six miles, the road was spread with cloth of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two princes rode on horseback together, between ranks of beautiful boys and girls, who waved plates of gold and silver flowers over their heads as they advanced, and then threw them to be gathered by the populace. After this, the inhabitants of the city made offerings, both men and women, according to their rank. After passing through a square directly in the centre of the city, the relations of Deva Raya who had lined the streets in crowds, made their obeisance and offerings, and joined the cavalcade on foot, marching before the princes. Upon their arrival at the palace gate, the Sultan and the Raya dismounted from their horses, and ascended a splendid palanquin, set with valuable jewels, in which they were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and bridegroom, when Deva Raya took his leave and went to his palace. The Sultan after having been treated with royal magnificence for three days took his leave of the Raya, who pressed upon him richer presents than before given, and attended him four miles on his way back and then returned to the city. Sultan Feroze Shah was enraged at his not going with him to his camp, and said to Meer Fazl Oollah that he would one day have revenge for such an affront. This declaration being told to Deva Raya, he made some insolent remarks, so that, notwithstanding the connection of family, their hatred was not calmed. Sultan Feroze Shah proceeded to the capital of his dominions, and despatched persons to bring the beautiful Pertal and her family to court; which being done, her beauty was found to surpass all that had been reported of it. The Sultan observing that he was too old to espouse her himself gave her to his son, Hussan Khan, in marriage, and gratified her parents with rich gifts and grants of land in their country.

Pertal was committed to the care of the Sultan's aunt until the nuptial preparations were ready, when the knot was tied amid great rejoicings and princely magnificence."

The story of the beautiful Pertal and the war of which she was the innocent cause contain all the elements of a historical romance. Would that there were a Meadows Taylor still alive to give it to us, together with a graphic description of the country and the people amongst whom she lived!

Sultan Feroze Shah laid out a new city not far from Gulburga, which he named after himself Firozeabad. It was situated on the banks of the Bheemrah, or Bhima, one of the affluents of the Kistna. The site of this town was about 15 miles from the present railway station of *Wadi*, the junction of the G. T. P. and Nizam's State Railways, and is said to have been laid out with great regularity. Gulburga, however, continued to be the seat of Government, and the new town was more a pleasure resort than a residence. About 1412 a celebrated saint, named Mahummud Geesoo-Diraz, came from Delhi to Gulburga, but though the Sultan at first showed him considerable favour, he appears to have afterwards neglected him. The Sultan's brother, Ahmed, who held the post of Khan Khanan made it, however, his duty to show this saint considerable respect, and was constant in his attendance upon him. The result was that Ahmed stood high in the saint's favour, and when in 1415 the Sultan asked the latter to bestow his blessing upon his son Hassan, whom he had selected as his successor, and who is said to have been a weak and dissipated prince, the saint declined, giving, as his reason, that Providence had decreed that the crown should be bestowed on his brother, Ahmed. Upon this the Sultan ordered the saint to leave the city, which he did, and retired to a place outside, where his tomb now stands. This tomb is still highly venerated by the Mahomedans of the Deccan, and is visited every year by thousands of pilgrims. The walls are decorated with texts

from the Koran in gilt letters, and none but true believers are admitted inside. Near it are some buildings consisting of a *serai*, a mosque, and a college, said to have been built by Aurungzebe in the seventeenth century.

In 1417 Feroze Shah made an unprovoked attack upon the fort of Bilkonda, belonging to the King of Vijayanagar, who was still Deva Raya. After a siege of two years, a pestilence broke out in the Sultan's army, and he had to retire. The Hindoos then advanced with a large force, and the Sultan, disregarding the advice of his chief officers, gave them battle, with the result that he suffered a serious defeat. His Commander in Chief, Meer Fuzl Oollah, was killed, and he himself had to fly in the greatest confusion. A general slaughter of the Mahomedans followed, and the Hindoos are said to have erected a platform of their heads. The Sultan was followed into his own country which was everywhere laid waste, mosques and holy places were broken down, and people were slaughtered indiscriminately. The Sultan appealed for help to Guzerat, but in vain, and it was only after some time and immense exertions that his brother, Ahmed, succeeded in driving the Hindoos back into their own dominions.

This reverse seems to have prayed so much upon the Sultan's mind that he fell ill. During his illness he left the affairs of his Government to two of his slaves, named Hoshiar Ein-ul-Mulk and Nizam Bedar-ul-Mulk. These two persons, alarmed at the growing popularity of Ahmed, advised the King to have him blinded. The Sultan, remembering the Saint's prophecy, resolved to do this, but his brother received timely notice and prepared with his son for flight. First of all, however, he went with his son to ask for the blessing of the holy Seyd. "The Seyd took the turban from his own son's head, and dividing it into two parts, tied one round the head of the father and son, and extending his hands over them, hailed them both with future royalty" (Ferishta.) After this Ahmed

left the city, followed by four hundred trusty adherents. As soon as Hoshiar and Bedar heard that their intended victim had escaped, they set out in pursuit with four thousand horses. Ahmed had only a few followers, but is said to have gained the victory by means of a clever stratagem carried out by his chief supporter, one Khulif Hussan. A company of grain merchants with about two thousand oxen happened to pass, and Hussan purchased them all, and mounted a man with a red and white flag on each ox. Some cavalry were posted in front of this strange force with orders to appear at a distance when the engagement should commence. Next morning the attack was commenced, and whilst it was going on, Hussan's force was seen marching behind some trees. At the same time Ahmed made a vigorous charge, and the Sultan's army, thinking he was supported by a large force of cavalry, broke and fled. Ahmed gained a considerable amount of booty, and at once marched upon Gulburga, where he was soon joined by a large number of disaffected persons, who were encouraged by his success. The Sultan, in spite of his illness, had himself carried out in a palanquin and attacked his brother. His forces, however, were again defeated, and he had to take refuge in the citadel. Hoshiar and Bedar commenced defending the fort, but the Sultan, weakened by age and disease, resolved to abdicate. He first of all called his son, Hussan-Khan, and told him that as all the nobility had sided with Ahmed it would be better to submit. He then summoned his brother, and formally made over to him his kingdom, and his son. Ahmed Shah, then ascended the throne and ordered coins to be struck and the Khutba to be read in his name. A few days afterwards Feroze Shah died, and Ferishta adds that "it is said in some books that he was put to death through policy, by his brother; but no good foundation appears for the report." Ferishta is probably correct in this latter surmise, for by his subsequent behaviour to the late

Sultan's son, it is clear that Ahmed Shah was more generous than was the custom of the kings of that time towards their unsuccessful rivals. Feroze Shah's reign lasted twenty-five years, seven months, and fifteen days.

Sultan Ahmed Shah Wullee Bahmanee appears to have followed his brother's example of encouraging learning. As
1422 might be expected, he showed great gratitude to the
to holy Syed Geesoo Diraz; not only did he build for
1434. him a splendid college, but he also endowed him richly with villages and jaghirs. Ahmed Shah's accession was signalized by more than ordinary generosity. Rejecting the advice of his Minister to put the late Sultan's son to death, he gave him Ferozeabad as a residence with an ample revenue, and here the Prince continued in future to reside, without giving any trouble, for, being indolent and dissipated by nature, he preferred the pleasures of hunting and the enjoyments of the harem to the dangers and cares of sovereignty. As long as his uncle lived, he was unmolested, but in the next reign he was blinded and confined to his palace. The two Ministers of the late Sultan were also taken into favour, and Hoshiar Ein-ul-Mulk was appointed Ameer-ul-Umra, or chief of the Nobles, whilst Bedar-ul-Mulk was posted to the Government of Dowlatabad. Hussan the Merchant, owing to whose clever stratagem Ahmed had gained the throne, was appointed Minister (Vakeel-ul-Sultanat: Envoy of the Kingdom) with the title Malick-ul-Tijar, (Prince of Merchants) a rank which in Ferishta's time was still bestowed in the Deccan, and was held in high esteem.

One of Ahmed Shah's first acts was to declare war against Vijayanagar in revenge for the invasions during the late reign. Deva Raya was assisted by the King of Warangal, but the latter before long deserted his ally. The two armies met on the banks of the Tungabadhra, and after some delay the Sultan crossed the river, and attacked the Rajah early in the

morning. A strange incident occurred in this surprise. The Rajah was sleeping in a garden near a sugar-cane plantation when the Mahomedans made their attack. He fled almost naked into the plantation, and there he was found hiding by some soldiers, who wanted to cut some of the canes. Thinking him to be an ordinary person, they made him carry a bundle of canes, and follow them. The Rajah, glad to escape recognition, said nothing, but followed his captors. When they reached the Rajah's camp, the Sultan's army was engaged in plundering, and so the soldiers, hoping to get more valuable plunder than sugar-cane, left their captive to his own devices, and joined their comrades. Deva Raya was not slow to make his escape, and soon after, coming up with some of his nobles, was brought into safety. The Rajah then retired to Vijayanagar, and Ahmed Shah devastated the country. He is said to have neglected the old compact made between the Sultan of Gulburga and the King of Vijayanagar, and to have slaughtered twenty thousand Hindoos, and to have destroyed a number of temples. So exasperated were the Brahmins that they formed a plot to assassinate the Sultan, and very nearly succeeded in their attempt. They surprised him whilst he was out hunting and separated from his companions, and pursued him so hotly that he was only just able to take refuge within a mud enclosure. Here he was joined by a few friends, but the Hindoos had succeeded in making a breach in the mud wall, and were on the point of entering, when they were attacked in the rear, and put to flight after a desperate struggle in which five hundred Mahomedans and one thousand Hindoos were killed. Abd-ul-Kadir, the officer who had luckily come to his master's rescue, was at once raised to the rank of two thousand, and the Government of Berar was bestowed upon him with the titles of Khan Jehan and the "Life bestowing Brother."

In the meantime, the city of Vijayanagar had been blockaded, and the inhabitants reduced to considerable distress, so that

Deva Raya felt himself compelled to sue for peace; this was granted on condition that he would send all arrears of tribute laden on his best elephants, and conducted by his son with drums, trumpets, and all the State pageantry to the Sultan's camp. This was done and the embassy was met outside the Sultan's camp and conducted into his presence. The Sultan, after embracing the Rajah's son, made him sit at the foot of the throne, and then invested him with a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, twenty horses, and elephants, and other gifts. After this the Sultan drew off his army, and returned to Gulburga.

In 1424 the Sultan marched against the Warangal King, who had withheld his tribute. Arrived at Golconda the Sultan halted, and sent on Khan Azim with a portion of the main army against Warangal, about 90 miles distant. This expedition was entirely successful. Not only were the Hindoos defeated with great loss, but Warangal itself was taken, and the Rajah killed. The Sultan then moved his camp to the captured city "and took possession of the buried treasures of ages which had till now been preserved from plunder, and accumulated yearly by the economy of the Rajahs" (Ferishta). These treasures, however, were only the accumulations of less than one hundred years, for after the former sack of Warangal in 1323 the city was for some time the seat of a Mahomedan Governor appointed from Delhi. Khan Azim, after being duly rewarded, was despatched to reduce other forts belonging to the Telingana country. This duty he accomplished in about four months' time, and Ahmed Shah returned to Gulburga.

The ruins of Warangal.

From this time Warangal and a large portion of the Telingana country appears to have been incorporated with the Mahomedan kingdom of the Deccan. There were frequent risings of the Hindoos, subsequently, but we do not find that Warangal was ever afterwards a royal city. At the present day very few remains of its former grandeur are to be seen. The outer wall is built entirely of

mud. It is very high, and encloses an area of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The inner wall is of stone, and encloses an area of about one square mile or a little less. Almost the only ruins are four beautifully carved porches in the centre of the inner enclosure. They are placed at the four cardinal points, and probably formed the entrances to the palace. Close by is a large hall, possibly used as a treasure house. It is massively built in the shape of an ark. There is also a small temple with some fine carvings, and this is nearly all that remains of this ancient city. The walls themselves show signs of having been frequently rebuilt because old carvings and bas-reliefs are built in detached pieces into some of the upper portions, thus showing that after the fort had been destroyed, the old *débris* was used to reconstruct the walls. There is a great deal of resemblance in some of the stone carvings with those of the temple at Hanamkonda about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant. This temple, which is now fast falling into almost total ruin, is one of the most perfect specimens of Chalukyan architecture in Southern India. Massive pillars of black granite, polished like marble, are carved into all manner of shapes with masterly skill. The shrines are protected by screens of the most delicate stone tracery, and the whole temple, or what remains of it, is a perfect gem of its kind. The following description is taken from the "Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions" (Syed Hoossain Belgrami and C. Willmott 1884):—"Hanamkonda contains some very interesting remains, and, according to local accounts, was the capital of the surrounding country before Warangal was founded. The 'thousand-pillared temple' was constructed by the last Hindoo dynasty, and an inscription on a pillar at the gateway mentions that Rudra Deva was the reigning sovereign in Saka 1084, or A.D. 1162. The temple was built in the Chalukyan style, but was never finished. It consists of three detached cells of very considerable dimensions, with a portico

supported by between 240 and 300 pillars arranged in a varied and complicated pattern. Opposite the portico, but at some distance from it, is a star-shaped structure, containing a hall and four entrances, without any recess for idols, and supported on about 200 pillars. This forms a sort of mandapam, and was connected with the main temple by a massive pillared pavilion covering a huge bull of polished black basalt. The pavilion has fallen down, but the bull is tolerably intact, and is a splendid specimen of a monolith. * The arrangement of the pillars and the variety of spacing are in pleasing subordination to the general plan. The pillars of the mandapam are plain, while those of the temple are richly carved, but without being overdone, and it is only in pairs that they are of the same design. Some of the other details are of great beauty, especially the doorways to the recesses, the pierced slabs used for windows, and the very elegant open work by which the bracket shafts are attached to the pillars. The arrangement of three temples joined together is capable of giving a greater variety of effect, and of light and shade than the plainer forms, and the appearance of the whole is further improved by the terrace about 3 feet high and from ten to fifteen feet wide on which the temple stands. There is a short inscription in Sanskrit on one of the pillars, and another in old Telugu on one of the walls. A black polished stone pillar about five feet high covered with inscriptions in old Telugu stands near the gate to the east of the temple, and a very fine well is close by. A similar pillar full of inscriptions stands in front of the temple to Padmakshi, the titular goddess of the Kakatya dynasty."

The country round Warangal is at present very thinly populated, the scale being about 80 to the square mile. It

* Since this was written, however, this beautiful bull has been greatly injured by the fall of massive stones. It is cracked in many places and unless steps are shortly taken will probably be totally destroyed.

Remains of Entian ci 5 Temple in Warangal Fort.

must, however, at one time have been not only thickly populated but also highly cultivated. It is covered with the remains of old irrigation works which are everywhere to be found in the old Hindoo kingdoms, but which under Mahomedan rule were allowed to fall into ruin. About 25 miles from Warangal is one of the largest artificial lakes in India which is thus described in the same work:—"*Pakhal*—a lake situated close to a village of the same name in latitude 17° 57′ 30″ N. and 79° 59′ 30″ E. longitude. The lake or tank is some twelve miles square. It is enclosed on all sides, except the west, by ranges of low and densely-wooded hills. The western side is closed by a strongly constructed 'bund.' Tradition alleges the bund to have been constructed 1,600 years ago by Raja Khaldya, and a stone pillar, which stands on the bund, contains an illegible inscription, which is said to commemorate the name of the person who built it. The bund is about a mile in length. The average depth of the water in the lake is between thirty and forty feet. It is described as 'clear with a slightly bitterish taste, and considered by the inhabitants to be extremely unwholesome. It abounds with fish, some of a very large description and excellent flavour. It also contains otters and alligators.' The hills which surround the lake abound in game of every description, including a few wild elephants said to be the progeny of a pair of tame ones that escaped after the battle of Assaye. The Pakhal Lake has been made by throwing a bund across a river which has cut its way over a western outcrop of the Vindhyas, between two low headlands. Mr. King, of the Geological Survey of India, writing of the lake a few years since, said:—'It is a splendid sheet of water lying back in two arms on either side of a good big hill east-south-east of the bund, while from these are long bays reaching up behind low ridges of outcropping Vindhyas. On every side there is far-stretching jungle. Even below the bund for miles there

is the thickest and densest jungle, only broken here and there by a few patches of rice cultivation. There is not the population even in the country below the tank to make use of its waters. In the old Telinga times, when Warangal was one of the great centres of the Telugu people, there must have been something more stirring in the way of human life than there is now in this desolate region of widespread jungle.' For six or seven months in the year the neighbourhood of the lake is very unhealthy; owing to this circumstance very little cultivation is carried on in the neighbourhood. There are, however, several small channels which convey water from the lake to some distance for irrigational purposes. In the centre of the bund are the ruins of a small pavilion styled the Chabutra of Sitab Khan. The best time to visit the lake for sport is during the first three or four months of the year. The nature of the country may be imagined from a native saying to the effect that a red squirrel can reach Badrachellum on the Godavari from the neighbourhood of Pakhal by leaping from tree to tree."

This vast jungle (which is now reserved by H. H. the Nizam for sporting purposes) has all grown up since the destruction of the Hindoo kingdom. What is now a marshy unwholesome forest was probably at one time a large expanse of rice fields.

But to return to Sultan Ahmed Shah. In the following year, 1425, Ahmed Shah made an expedition into the country of the Ghonds or what is now known as the Central Provinces. Here he is said to come into possession of a diamond mine, and to have destroyed several temples, erecting mosques in their places. After this he marched to Ellichpore, where he remained for nearly a year, and then returned to Gulburga. From this we see that the dominions of the Bahmanee house had at this time extended far up into the Central Provinces to the East, and to what are now called the Berars in the North. At this portion the kingdom was bounded by Malwa

on the north, and Guzerat on the north-west. The hill country on the Western Ghauts, was probably still held by Mahratta tribes in a state of independence, but towards the south the limits of the kingdom must have extended nearly to Goa, whilst on the east they have reached to Masulipatam and the Coromandel Coast. It is also quite clear that the Delhi Sultans exercised no authority or control over any portion of this extensive kingdom. Mubárak Shah was then Sultan of Delhi, and his time was fully occupied in subduing rebellious Rajahs and petty Mahomedan princes. A number of these small States, such as Guzerat and Malwa, had arisen between the Deccan and the North of India, and further towards the east there were several independent Hindoo Chiefs who occupied that part of India now known as the Central Provinces. It was the vicinity of Malwa that gave rise to Ahmed Shah's next war. Hoshung Shah was then Sultan of Malwa, and was as independent in his own territory as Ahmed Shah was in the Deccan. Hoshung Shah began to be alarmed at the manner in which Ahmed Shah was increasing in power, and, perhaps, bore in mind the grant which had already been made by Timur of Malwa to the Sultan of the Deccan. Accordingly, he made overtures to the neighbouring Hindoo Rajah of Kurleh, named Nursinga to unite with him to check his dangerous rival. Nursinga had already come into contract with the previous Sultan of Gulburga, Feroze Shah, had been beaten, and agreed to pay tribute. Faithful to this compact, Nursinga refused the proferred alliance, and in consequence Hoshung Shah invaded his dominions. Twice he was repulsed, but on the third occasion he managed to take the Hindoo Rajah by surprise. Nursinga then applied to Ahmed Shah for assistance on the ground that this invasion had been made solely on account of his loyalty to the treaty which had been made with Feroze. Accordingly, Ahmed Shah marched to the relief of Nursinga, but before he was actually able to meet Hoshung

Shah, his religious advisers managed to persuade him that it was an unholy and wicked thing for a Mahomedan Prince to ally himself with an unbeliever in order to make war upon another true believer. Ahmed Shah yielded to the persuasions of his religious friends and wrote to Hushung Shah, asking him to retire, without coming to a fratricidal war. Ahmed Shah did in fact retire, but Hoshung Shah thinking that this was due to weakness, pursued him with a considerable force, and commenced to harass his rear. This affront was more than Ahmed Shah could stand, so, flinging his conscientious scruples to the winds, he told his Mollahs and Kazis that he had done enough for religion by retiring, and he must now protect his own honour by fighting. Accordingly, he ordered a halt and drew up his army in order of battle. He left the main army in command of his son, Alla-ud-Din, and his General, and himself took command of a select force, which he placed in ambush with the view of taking the enemy in the rear. Hoshung Shah, expecting to find an enemy in full retreat, was surprised to suddenly come across an army in full order of battle. His own army had been carelessly arranged, not expecting to meet with any opposition. Nevertheless he charged with much gallantry, but in the midst of his attack, Ahmed Shah emerged from his ambush, and taking the confused and serried masses in the rear put them entirely to flight. Hoshung Shah and his whole army fled in the utmost confusion, followed by Ahmed Shah, who took all his baggage, two hundred elephants, and the harem, besides putting some two thousand men to the sword. Nursinga, as soon as he heard of this defeat, made a sally from his fort, and intercepting the fugitive killed a large number, and thus made the victory complete. The Hindoo Rajah then visited the Sultan in his camp, and persuaded him to pay him a visit at Kurleh. After being splendidly entertained the Sultan returned towards Gulburga, the Hindoo Rajah accompanying

him a considerable distance, and then being dismissed with marks of great honour. It was on this return march that Ahmed Shah halted at the ancient town of Bieder. Struck by its healthy situation and by the abundance of water, the Sultan resolved to build a new city here, and to make it his capital. This was accordingly done, and the new city, which was finished in 1431, was called Ahmedabad Bieder. The old Hindoo city is said to be the scene of the adventures of King Nal and his wife Damayanti, and was in times of antiquity the metropolis of a great Hindoo kingdom. A description of the modern Bieder will be given later on. Although the new city was not completed till 1431, the Sultan appears to have transferred his seat of Government to Bieder very soon after the building was commenced, because, already in 1429, we find him celebrating there the marriage of his son with the daughter of the Sultan of Khandeish—a marriage which seems to have originated from political motives, so as to form a bond of union between the Sultan of Khandeish and the bridegroom, Alla-ud-Din, the successor of Ahmed Shah. About this time the Sultan divided the Government of his dominions amongst his four sons. Alla-ud-Din, as the next heir, was kept at Bieder, with the youngest son Mahummad as his colleague; Muhamed Khan received Berar with Ramgeer, Mahow, and Koollum, and Daoud Khan was sent to Telingana; Malick-ul-Tijar was appointed Governor of Dowlatabad. In 1429 Sultan Ahmed sent an expedition into the Konkan under the leadership of Malick-ul-Tijar, which was at first very successful, several elephants and camels laden with jewels being sent to Court. The end of the expedition, however, was a terrible disaster. The Deccan General took the island of Mahim, which belonged to the Sultan of Guzerat, who thereupon sent an army to revenge this insult. Ahmed sent his son, Alla-ud-Din, with reinforcement, but in the engagement which ensued, the Deccan army suffered a total defeat, losing the whole of

their baggage, tents, and elephants. Ahmed Shah now came down to the Konkan to lead the war in person, and the Sultan of Guzerat did the same. The two armies lay for some time opposite each other and a decisive battle seemed imminent, but the religious men interfered, and a peace was concluded, under which both parties were left in possession of their territories. The chief result of this war was that Hoshung Shah, the Sultan of Malwa, took advantage of the Deccan Sultan being employed elsewhere to invade the territory of Nursinga, the brave Hindoo Rajah of Kurleh. This Prince, left unassisted by his Mahomedan ally, was defeated and killed, and his country passed into the possession of the Malwa Sultan (1433). Ahmed Shah at first marched to revenge his death, but before a battle could be fought, peace was concluded between the two Sultans. Kurleh was left in possession of Malwa and the whole province of Berar was made over to Ahmed Shah. Soon after this, Ahmed Shah marched to Telingana to put down a rebellion, and this was his last public act, for he was taken ill and died, in 1434, after a reign of twelve years and two months.

CHAPTER IX.

SULTAN ALLAH-UD-DIN II.

It will be remembered that Sultan Ahmed Shah appointed Muhammed Khan, his youngest son, to be the colleague of Alla-ud-Din, his eldest son and successor. Alla-ud-Din appears to have regarded his father's wishes, so far as to treat his younger brother with great and almost royal respect. He bestowed upon him costly presents, and despatched him to conduct the war against the King of Vijayanagar, who had again neglected to send his promised tribute. There is, however, an old saying, that there is no more room for two Kings in one country than there is for two swords in one scabbard. Muhammed's position was an anomalous one, and it is not, therefore, surprising that there should have been persons ready to inflame his imagination, and to suggest to him that, as partner to a King, he ought to have an equal share in the royal honours and privileges. Muhammed lent a willing ear to these representations, and being flushed with his success over the Hindoos, whose country he laid waste, and who were compelled to sue for peace by payment of a large sum, he resolved to raise the standard of rebellion. Alla-ud-Din had sent with Muhammed two of his

1434 to 1457.

principal noblemen, Khajeh Jehan, the Vizier, and Imad-ul Mulk Ghoree the son of the old Seyd-ud-Din, who had for more than fifty years been the Minister of the first Bahmanee Sultans. The latter was an old man who had retired from office, and was only induced to accompany the young Prince by the strong persuasions of the Sultan. The idea of rebellion having entered into Muhammed's mind, he endeavoured to induce these two noblemen to join him, but they, loyal to their rightful Sultan, not only refused, but pointed out to the young Prince the criminality of his intentions. This so incensed Muhammed that he caused both of them to be put to death, and then, not content with rebellion, committed the additional treason of calling upon the King of Vijayanagar to assist him with an army. Aided in this manner by the hereditary foes of his country, he succeeded in capturing the forts of Mudkul, Raichore, Sholapore, Beejapore, and Nuldroog.

Alla-ud-Din was greatly incensed at this rebellion, and especially at the murder of Imad-ul-Mulk, and he at once advanced with a large army to bring matters with his brother to an issue. A furious battle ensued, but after an obstinate struggle the rebel army was totally defeated, the principal leaders were killed, and Muhammed, followed by a few attendants only, had to take to the hills for shelter. The Sultan then returned to his capital, and not long afterwards, Muhammed submitted himself to his elder brother, was pardoned, and was sent as Governor to Telingana, which post had become vacant by the death of Daoud Shah. Here he lived undisturbed, and is said to have spent his life in a round of pleasures. This incident is interesting as accounting in some way for the unnatural custom which we find so prevalent throughout Mahomedan history, of kings blinding and confining their brothers and near relatives, who might be supposed to have pretensions to the throne. The splendour of an Oriental throne possessed fatal attractions to those whom the accident

of birth had placed near to it, but whom circumstances had removed to a distance. The nearer the Prince was placed, the greater the danger to be expected, and experience seemed to show that the only way of preserving a kingdom from civil war was to remove all possible pretenders. The incident, however, forms a notable exception to the tragedies which were usually the result of such rebellions, and of which we shall find a terrible example in the next reign. Alla-ud-Din, in this instance, treated his brother with extraordinary and unusual generosity, and he does not, as is so often the case, appear to have received ingratitude in return.

In 1436 Alla-ud-Din despatched an expedition to the Konkan under Dilawar Khan. This General was successful, and returned after subduing the Rajahs of Amede and Sungeer with a considerable amount of booty. He also brought with him the daughter of the Rajah of Sungeer, a maiden of great accomplishments, whom the Sultan took into his zenana under the name of Peri-chera, or the "*Angel-faced.*" This lady soon became the Sultan's favourite wife, and for her sake he neglected his first wife, who, it will be remembered, was a Princess of Kandeish—a neglect which was to bear serious consequences. Dilawar Khan was on his return made Vizier, but he soon afterwards lost his master's favour and retired, his place being taken by a eunuch named Dustoor-ul-Mulk. This person soon excited universal disgust by his insolence, and amongst other enemies, he was foolish enough to cause the anger of the Sultan's son, Humayun, who already showed signs of that violent temper which was afterwards to earn for him the title of the "Cruel." This Prince, disgusted at the refusal of Dustoor to comply with some request, caused the Minister to be assassinated by one of his own retainers. Upon this a Deccanee nobleman, named Meamun Oollah, was appointed Minister, and matters resumed their former train.

In the following year (1437) war broke out with the

Sultan of Kandeish, to whom Malleeka Jehan, the neglected wife of Alla-ud-Din, had appealed for vengeance. This Prince claimed to be a lineal descendant of the Caliph Omar, and accordingly felt it as a personal insult that his daughter should have been set aside for an infidel Princess. He at once invaded Berar with a large army, assisted by a force sent by the Rajah of Ghondwarah. The Governor, Khan Jehan, was compelled to shut himself up in the fortress of Pernalleh, and the *Khutba* was read in the name of Nusseer Khan, the Sultan of Kandeish.

Alla-ud-Din, on receipt of this intelligence, at once ordered Malick-ul-Tijar to conduct an expedition to recover Berar. This General, it will be remembered, suffered a disaster in the late reign after taking the island of Mahim. He now represented to the Sultan that this defeat was mainly caused by the jealousy of the Deccanee and Abyssinian nobles, and he, therefore asked that on this occasion his army should be officered mainly by foreigners. Under this term were included the Turks, Persians, and Arabs settled in the Deccan. The Abyssinians and the Deccanees seem always to have been classed together and to have made common cause, and between them and the so-called foreigners there was always the greatest hatred. This request was granted, but in the sequel only added flames to the existing jealousy which has continued between the Deccanees and the foreigners down to the present day.

Malick-ul-Tijar's expedition met with eminent success. Not only was the Sultan of Kandeish defeated, but his kingdom was invaded, his capital, Burhanpoor, was taken, and his palace razed to the ground. Berar was recovered, and the General returned to Bieder laden with considerable plunder. He was received by Alla-ud-Din with every mark of distinction, was rewarded with presents; the Sultan's daughter was bestowed upon one of his principal officers, Shah Koolli Sultan, and finally it was ordered that in future the Moghuls should take

the place in the army of the Deccanees and Abyssinians.

It now becomes necessary to glance at affairs at Vijayanagar. Deva Raya was still King of this great country, and he appears to have come to the conclusion that if he was to make a successful stand against the Mahomedan Sultans he must reform his army. Although, during the last hundred years the Hindoos had been sometimes successful, the final issue of every conflict had been in favour of the Mahomedans. It is, indeed, surprising that after so many successful wars, the boundaries of the two States should have remained unaltered. In spite of their victories, the Mahomedans were never able to gain a footing in Hindoo territory, and after a lapse of nearly one hundred years the country between the rivers Kistna and Tungabadhra still remained a debatable land, in which the forts were continually passing from the possession of one King to that of the others. It was probably owing to their numbers that the Hindoos were thus able to make so successful a stand, but this in Deva Raya's opinion was not sufficient, and he wished to be able to carry the war into the enemy's country. Accordingly, he summoned a council of his principal officers and Brahmins, and asked why it was that with such infinitely greater resources in men and treasure than the Mahomedans, his armies should so constantly be defeated. "Some said that the Almighty has decreed a superiority of the Mussulmans over the Hindoos for thirty thousand years, or more yet to come, which was plainly foretold by their Scriptures; that, therefore, the Hindoos were generally subdued by them. Others said that the superiority of the Mussulmans arose from two causes; one, all their horses being strong, and able to bear more fatigue than the weak, lean animals of the Carnatic; the other, owing to a great body of excellent archers; being always kept up by the Bahmanee Sultans, of whom the Rajah had but few in his army." (Ferishta.) Deva Raya was sensible enough to see the justice

of the latter opinion, and accordingly resolved to employ a large body of Mahomedan mercenaries. In order to attract such persons, he had a mosque built in the city of Vijayanagar, and allowed them the free use of their religion. Another remarkable step for a Hindoo Prince to take was, that he ordered a Koran to be placed on a desk in front of his throne, so that when Mahomedans appeared before him, they might go through the ceremony of obeisance without sinning against their own religion. By these means he succeeded before long in getting a Mahomedan force of two thousand men. These were employed in instructing and drilling the native levies, so that he managed to raise an army of sixty thousand Hindoos well-skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances. We are not told that he had any artillery, although there can be no doubt that this arm was at this time regularly used by the Mahomedans.

It took some years for Deva Raya to get this large army ready, but at length when all his preparations were made, he commenced the war in 1443, by crossing the Tungabadhra and laying siege to Raichore, whilst the rest of his forces were employed in devastating the Doab.

In order to meet this invasion Alla-ud-Din summoned all his forces from Telingana, Dowlatabad, and Berar. He was not, however, able to collect more than fifty thousand horse, sixty thousand foot, and a large train of artillery. Compared with the Hindoo army this was but a small force, but it had the advantage of consisting for the most part of veterans, who had served through many campaigns. The Sultan himself marched against Deva Raya, who was encamped in front of Mudkul, and despatched Malik-ul-Tijar to raise the siege of Raichore. In this the latter was successful, and defeated the son of Deva Raya, who was wounded in the action and compelled to retire. In the meantime the Sultan was busy with the main Hindoo

army. During the space of two months three general actions were fought. In the first of these the Hindoos were successful, but they were defeated in the two last. In the third, the eldest son of Deva Raya was killed, which created a panic, and caused the Hindoos to take refuge within the walls of Mudkul. In the heat of the pursuit two of Alla-ud-Din's chief officers pushed on too far, and were taken prisoners. Upon this Alla-ud-Din sent a message to Deva Raya that he regarded the lives of his two officers as each equal to one hundred thousand Hindoos, and that if they were injured, he would exact a full payment in return. Deva Raya was not unaware of how a former Sultan, Mahmood Shah, had made and carried out a similar promise, and so he thought it advisable to come to terms. A treaty was accordingly drawn up, in which the Hindoo King promised to respect the Sultan's territories in future, to restore the prisoners, and to pay his tribute regularly. Peace was then made; the Sultan bestowed presents upon the Rajah, and then returned to his own capital. During the remainder of the Sultan's reign, this peace was strictly observed by Deva Raya. *

On his return from this campaign the Sultan gave himself up to idleness, and the pleasures of the harem; he only appeared

We have other evidence of this war than that of Ferishta, for at the time it broke out, Abdar Razzak was staying at the Vijayanagar Court. He ascribes the initiative as having been taken by the Gulburga Sultan, who took advantage of the reported assassination of the Hindoo King to demand a heavy contribution. This traveller speaks of this departure of the Hindoo general or *Danaick* with a large army, and his return with a number of captives. He does not speak of any reverses or of the death of the King's son. It seems probable that the success of this campaign was principally on the side of the Hindoos. Ferishta admits that they were successful at first, and the fact of so advantageous a treaty being so easily granted would seem to show that the Hindoos had further successes. Ferishta's description of the reorganization of the Hindoo army is probably intended to excuse or account for the Mahomedan reverses.

in public once in four or five months, and spent the whole of his time "in drinking ruby coloured wines, pressing the lips of silver-bodied damsels, or listening to the melody of sweet-voiced musicians."

Whilst the Sultan had thus withdrawn himself from business, his Minister, Meamun Oolla had formed a plan for reducing the fortresses along the sea-coast, and despatched Malik-ul-Tijar with a force of seven thousand Deccanee and three thousand Arab horse, besides about seven thousand of his own troops. Malik-ul-Tijar made Jagneh, a port on the Malabar Coast, his headquarters, and from here sent forth expeditions against the various Rajahs, most of whom he managed to reduce to obedience. Amongst these was a Rajah named Sirkeh, of whom he wished to make a convert to Islam. This religion the Rajah promised to embrace, but said that first of all Malik should conquer his rival, the Rajah of Sungeer, because otherwise when the Mahomedans should leave the country, Sungeer would cover him with ridicule for having become a renegade to his religion. The road to Sungeer was said to lead to thick forests, and as Malik was unacquainted with it, the wily Sirkeh promised to lead him there in person. Accordingly, trusting in these promises,
1453. Malik-ul-Tijar set out on his perilous expedition, but at the very outset was deserted by most of the Deccanee and Abyssinian troops, who refused to enter the woods. Nothing daunted, Malik continued his march, followed by some seven thousand of his own troops. For two days the road was a fairly good one, but on the third Sirkeh led them through so horrible a jungle that, as Ferishta quaintly says, "a male tiger through dread of the terrors of it, would have become a female; fuller of windings than the curly locks of the fair, and narrower than the path of love." Malik himself was ill of dysentery, and could not look after his army. When night came Sirkeh managed to make his escape, and

left the Mahomedans, exhausted by their day's exertions, to camp as best they could in this desert region. In the meantime, Sirkeh sent word to the Rajah of Sungeer that he had decoyed the enemy into the trap, and that the rest of the work was left for him. "At midnight," says Ferishta, "the Rajah with a great force, with which was also the treacherous Sirkeh, rushed from dens, passes, and caverns, on the Mussulmans unsuspicious of surprise, and buried in the sleep of weariness and fatigue. Nearly seven thousand of the faithful were put to death like sheep with knives and daggers; for the wind being high, the clashing of the trees, which separated them from one another, prevented them from hearing the groans of their fellow-sufferers. Malik-ul-Tijar fell with five hundred noble Syeds of Medina, Kerballa, and Nujeef; as also some few Deccanee and Abyssinian nobles with about two thousand soldiers of those countries. When the Rajah thought his bloody revenge had been glutted sufficiently, he retired with his people from the forest."

The few survivors of this disaster, amounting to about three thousand in number, managed to retire by the way they had come, and rejoined the Deccanees and Abyssinians, who had refused to accompany Malick-ul-Tijar. A quarrel at once broke out between the Moguls (the foreigners) and the Deccanees, the former reproaching the latter that the disaster had been caused by their defection. The Moguls expressed their determination of taking refuge in the fort of Jagneh and of reporting the whole circumstances to the Court.

The Deccanees when they heard this resolved to be first with their complaints, and at once sent a distorted report to the Sultan, representing that Malick-ul-Tijar had undertaken the rash expedition in spite of the advice of his Generals; and that the Mogul survivors without waiting for the appointment of a new General had retired to the fort of Jagneh, where they had raised the standard of rebellion, intending to

join the Konkan Rajahs. This false report was sent to two Deccanee noblemen—Sheer-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk Ghour—who, taking an opportunity when the Sultan had been drinking, told him the story embellished by their own exaggerations. The Sultan, carried away by passion, at once ordered the two nobles to march against the rebels and put them to the sword. The two noblemen were not slow to execute this commission, and marched with a large army to besiege the remnant of the Mogul force which had shut itself up in the fort of Jagneh. After a siege of two months, during which the Deccanees had not been able to gain any advantage, a false message was sent to the fort that a pardon had arrived from the Sultan, and the Deccanee Chiefs swore a solemn oath that the Moguls might come out unmolested. Deceived by these assurances the whole garrison, numbering some 2,500, with women and children, came and camped outside the fort. On the third day the Deccanee Generals invited three hundred of the chief Mogul officers to an entertainment, during which they were massacred to a man. At the same time a body of four thousand Deccanees fell upon the Mogul camp and put every male, even to the children at the breast, to the sword, and dishonoured the women. What made this outrage more infamous in the eyes of the Mahomedan world was that amongst the Moguls were a large number of Seyds or descendants of the Prophet. In this way the whole of the ill-fated garrison were destroyed, with the exception of about three hundred Moguls under Kassim Beg, who had encamped at some little distance. This small body, on hearing the alarm, at once made a march, with the object, if possible, of reaching the capital. In this they were successful, for, although a force of one thousand horse was sent in pursuit, they received timely aid from a friendly Jaghirdar, named Hassan Khan. The pursuing force was beaten off and its leader killed, and then after a long and weary march this small remnant of the Mogul

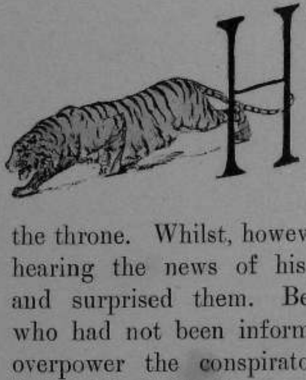
army reached Bieder. When the Sultan heard the truth of the matter his rage passed all bounds. The officer who had suppressed the reports sent by the Moguls was at once beheaded. The two Deccanee nobles were recalled and disgraced, and others who had taken part in the plot were put to death. As a retribution of Providence, Ferishta says that Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sheer-ul-Mulk were seized with leprosy the same year, and their sons walked the markets for shameful purposes among the outcasts of the City. Kassim Beg, who had successfully brought home his small force, was promoted the Governorship of Dowlatabad, and all who had helped him were duly honoured. In 1453 a dangerous eruption broke out on the Sultan's foot which eventually four years afterwards proved fatal. In the meantime he was confined to his palace, and rumours went abroad that he was dead. These rumours induced his grandson (by his daughter) Secunder Khan, who was Governor of Bilcondah, to break into rebellion, and to call in the Sultan of Malwa to help him. Sultan Mahomed, who was then King of Malwa, at once complied and invaded the Deccan with a large army, where he was joined by Secunder Khan. Sultan Alla-ud-Din, in spite of his illness, at once marched to meet Mahomed Shah, and at the same time despatched Khajeh Gawan, a name we shall frequently hear of hereafter, to put down a rebellion which had also broken out in the Telingana country. As soon as Mahomed found that Sultan Alla-ud-Din was still alive, he retired and left Secunder Khan to himself, who then made his escape into Telingana, where he was soon reduced to submission by Khajeh Gawan. The Sultan, with great generosity, forgave Secunder Khan, and even restored him to his Government. In the following year Sultan Alla-ud-Din died from mortification after a reign of nearly twenty-four years.

Sultan Alla-ud-Din was a man of wit and learning, and is said to have been possessed of considerable eloquence. He

Character. sometimes preached in the mosque on Fridays and holydays, and read out the *Khutba* in his own name, styling himself "the just, merciful, patient, and liberal to the servants of God." On the last occasion when he so appeared, there was a horse-dealer present whose account had been left unpaid by the officers of the Court. This man was a zealous Mahomedan, and like many others had been greatly moved by the slaughter of the Moguls by the Deccanees. On hearing the Sultan read the *Khutba*, he rose and said:—"Thou art neither the just, the merciful, the patient, nor the liberal King, but the cruel and the false, who hast massacred the Prophet's descendants; yet darest to assume such vaunting titles in the pulpit of the true believers." The Sultan, we are told, was struck with remorse, and commanded the merchant to be paid on the spot; saying that those would not escape the wrath of God who had thus injured his reputation. He then retired to his palace, which he never left again till he was brought out to be buried.

CHAPTER X.

HUMAYUN THE CRUEL.



Humayun's reputation for cruelty was so well-known and feared that no sooner was the late Sultan dead, than
1457 to 1460. two of the chief amras—Syef Khan and Mulloo Khan—contrived a plot to seat his younger brother, Hassan Khan, on the throne. Whilst, however, they were so engaged, Humayun hearing the news of his father's death came to the palace and surprised them. Being aided by the palace servants, who had not been informed of the plot, he was soon able to overpower the conspirators. The poor young Prince was dragged from the throne he had only occupied a few minutes, blinded, and the conspirators were then summarily dealt with. A still more terrible fate was, however, reserved for the unfortunate young Hassan, as will be told further on.

Humayun was wise in his choice of a Chief Minister, since he selected Khajeh Gawan, who had already done such good service. Malick Shah, said to be a descendent of Chengiz Khan, was appointed Governor of Telingana, now one of the most important provinces, but Secunder Khan,

one of the Sultan's companions, when Heir Apparent was left, unprovided for. Secunder Khan was the son of a daughter of Ahmed Shah, who had married Jellal Khan, and had for many years been the Governor of the Bilkondah District; he considered himself as entitled to a province, being, equally with Humayun, a grandson of Ahmed Shah. Disgusted at being superseded, Secunder Khan broke into rbeellion and induced his father to join him. Humayun had at once to march against this new rebel, and in consideration of his former friendship offered pardon, and the province of Dowlatabad. Secunder Khan, however, claimed equal rights as a grandson, and demanded the Telingana. This shows that although Warangal had fallen, there were still a number of unsubdued Hindoo princes on the East Coast. Telingana was therefore a favourite province because there was booty to be gained. The Sultan's overtures being refused, a battle followed, in which Secunder Khan, who seems to have been a man of great personal courage, was defeated and slain. He actually charged the Sultan, but Humayun's elephant lifted the rebel from his horse, threw him on the ground, and trampled him to death. This ended the battle. As is usual when the leader is killed, the army took flight. Jellal Khan still held out a little longer, but finally submitted, purchasing a few more years of life by resigning all the hoarded wealth of forty years' high employment. But although in this instance, the rebellion was easily quelled, its example was followed elsewhere. Taking advantage of the Sultan's absence, a conspiracy was formed to release the young prince Hassan Khan and to set him on the throne. Yusuf Turk, a slave of the late Sultan, lent himself to this plot, and effected the release of the blinded young prince, together with his friend and tutor, the Saint Hubeeb Oolla. This he managed by a stratagem, and having obtained possession of the harem, where the political prisoners were confined, he set at liberty, not

only the above two, but also two other sons of the late King, besides about seven thousand other captives. These are the figures given by Ferishta, but it seems incredible that so large a number could have been confined together. The captives, once released, armed themselves with sticks and stones, and managed to beat off the Kotwal, who, on hearing of the outbreak, hurried up to suppress it. During the night, the escaped prisoners dispersed to different places. Some of them, and amongst those Jellal Khan, an old man of eighty, and Yiah Khan, a son of the late Sultan, fell into the hands of the Kotwal, and were at once killed. Hassan Khan and Hubeeb Oolla shaved their beards and managed to get out of the city disguised as beggars. Once outside Hassan Khan made himself known, and was soon joined by a large number of the disaffected, amongst them Yusuf Turk. The rebels then possessed themselves of the town of Pur and the adjacent country. It was to suppress this revolt that Humayun returned burning with rage. He first of all punished the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, all of whom he put to death by the most cruel tortures that could be devised. The Kotwal was confined in an iron cage, and every day some member of his body was cut off, which he was made to eat, until at last he was released by death. The first force despatched against the rebels was defeated, which only increased the Sultan's rage. Thereupon, he reinforced his army, but kept the wives and children of the officers in confinement, swearing that he would kill them all, if the army was defeated, or made common cause with Hassan Khan. This threat had the desired effect, and the rebels were defeated and compelled to fly. Hassan Khan and his friends then fled towards Vijayanagar, hoping to find a refuge with the Hindoos, but passing Bijapur, then only a mud fort, on the way they were invited inside by the Governor, Seraj Khan, with a promise of protection. This promise, however, was treacherously broken.

The fugitives were all seized at night, and sent with their followers in chains to the Sultan at Bieder. The vengeance wreaked by the Sultan was terrible. He ordered stakes to be driven into the ground in the large square opposite the palace; elephants, and wild beasts were then brought in, and large cauldrons of boiling oil were placed in different parts. Upon this the Sultan seated himself in the balcony so as to preside over the execution. The first victim was his unfortunate brother, Hassan Khan, who was thrown before a tiger, who soon tore the wretched Prince to pieces. Yusuf Turk and his seven friends were then beheaded, and their wives and daughters publicly violated. Hubeeb Oolla had fortunately already been killed in Bijapur. The whole of the Prince's followers, even down to the cooks and scullions, numbering in all some seven thousand men, women, and children, were then put to death by the most fearful tortures —by sword, axe, boiling oil and water, and every means that cruelty could think of.

In order to avoid the possibility of another revolt, almost all of the other members of the royal family were put to death, and the Sultan spent the rest of his reign in practising the most abominable cruelties on the innocent as well as the guilty. "He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and seizing the bride, would, after deflowering her, send her back to the husband's house. He put his women to death for trivial faults and when any of his nobility were obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families as if preparing for death."

It was impossible that such a state of things could long continue, and in 1460, after a short reign of three years and six months, this monster of cruelty died, "some say by natural disease, but others that he was assassinated by his own attendants."

CHAPTER XI.

SULTANS NIZAM SHAH AND MUHAMMED SHAH.

Nizam Shah was only a boy when
he ascended the throne, and
the Regency was conducted by
1460 his mother, a woman
to of great ability, who
1462. consulted in all things
the Vizier Khajeh Gawan and Khajeh Jehan, two men of great experience and integrity. It did not take long to restore peace and confidence, but the neighbouring States, thinking to profit by the youth of the new Sultan, resolved to attack his kingdom, which they hoped to find in a state of confusion. The first combination was made by the Rajahs of Orissa, Oriya, and the Zemindars of Telingana, who invaded the country by Rajahmundry, and plundered it as far as Kailas. This army advanced within ten miles of Bieder, but was there met by the young Sultan, with a force of forty thousand men. In a preliminary skirmish

the Hindoos suffered so much loss that the whole army retreated, followed by the Mahomedans, who inflected great loss. The allied Rajahs were compelled to take refuge in a small fort, and there sue for peace, which, after payment of a large sum, was granted. The General commanding the victorious army was Khajeh Jehan.

The next invasion was from the side of Malwa, aided by the Rajahs of Oriya and Telingana. This also was met by Sultan Nizam Shah in person. A battle ensued, in which the two wings of Nizam Shah's army were completely victorious; the centre, however, where the Sultan himself was, was broken and compelled to retire to Bieder, so that the victory remained with the Sultan of Malwa, who then advanced to the capital, where he succeeded in taking the city, but had to lay siege to the citadel. Matters were now in a critical state, and many thought that the fall of the house of Bahmanee was inevitable, when suddenly help appeared in the shape of the Sultan of Guzerat with twenty thousand horse. He was joined by Khajeh Gawan with the remnants of Nizam Shah's army, and the two then advanced to raise the siege of Bieder, the citadel of which had been gallantly defended by the Queen mother and the young Sultan. The Malwa army was then compelled to relinquish the siege, and to retire towards Gondwara, followed by the allies. In the Hindoo country, the Malwa Sultan was purposely misled by a guide into a desert where he lost a large portion of his army, and had finally to retire to his country with great loss. In the following year he again invaded the Deccan, but was met near Dowlatabad by the combined forces of Guzerat and the Deccan, and compelled to retire. This invasion over, it was resolved to celebrate the young Sultan's marriage. This was done amid great pomp and rejoicing, which, however, was suddenly turned into mourning, for, on the night of the comsummation, the young King, who had begun life with so much promise, suddenly died.

Muhammed Shah was only nine years old, when he succeeded his brother, and the affairs of Government continued to be
1462 conducted by the two Ministers, and the Queen mother
to as in the last reign.

1482. Khajeh Jehan, however, was no longer the faithful servant he had hitherto proved himself. He seems to have entertained personal hopes of ambition, and appointed his own friends and creatures to the chief posts at Court. Khajeh Gawan was sent to the frontier, and had but little voice in the adminis tration. The Queen mother, becoming alarmed at the growing power of the Minister, resolved to remove him, and this was done by assassinating him in open durbar in the presence of the Sultan. Khajeh Gawan was now the principal Minister of the State, and under his able guidance, matters went on prosperously.

When he was fourteen years old the Sultan was married to a Princess of his own family, and thereupon the Queen mother handed over to him the reins of Government and
1467. retired into privacy. Sultan Muhammed is said to have been a man of great learning and taste, Khajeh Gawan having paid great attention to his education. On the whole, he seems to have been actuated by noble impulses, but he was quick in temper and hasty, and it was owing to this defect in his character that he was destined to be the cause of the ruin of his house. It is necessary at this stage to go back somewhat in order to trace the history of a young man, who was now twenty-four years of age. This man was Yusuf Adil Khan Sewai, who was attached to the household of Khajeh Gawan (as I shall still continue to call him, though he had now received the additional titles of Malick-ul-Tijar and Khajeh Jehan). The story of Yusuf Adil Khan's birth and adventures is a most romantic one. He was born in 1443, and his father was no less a person than *Murad*, the Sultan of Turkey. Murad died in 1450, and was succeeded by his eldest son

Mahomed. Yusuf was then only seven years of age, but in conformity with the barbarous custom that has so long prevailed in Mahomedan courts, it was resolved to put the young Prince to death, in order to prevent the possibility arising of his being a claimant to the throne. The executioners were sent to the harem and told the Sultana that they had come with orders to bow-string the boy and show his body to the Sultan. The mother, distracted with grief, begged for a day's delay, which, on being granted, she employed in devising a plan to save her son. She sent for a slave-dealer and purchased from him a young Circassian boy who bore a strong resemblance to the Prince. She then gave her són to the merchant with a large sum of money and begged him to take the boy away and place him in safety. This the merchant promised to do, and started on his journey with the young Prince on the same night. Next morning the executioners came again. One was admitted, who strangled the unfortunate Circassian, and then carried out the body which was buried without further examination. In the meantime the merchant, whose name was Khajeh Imad-ud-Din, had carried off the real Prince to Persia, first of all to Ardebeel, where he was placed under the venerable Sheikh Suffee (founder of the Suffee royal family), and then to the town of Saweh, where the boy was educated with the merchant's own children. Whilst here the Sultana from time to time sent messages to her son and received reports of his progress. She also sent his old nurse together with a large sum of money for the Prince's support. Yusuf remained at Saweh till he was sixteen years old, and from this residence derived his name of "Sewai." He then resolved to go and try his fortune in Hindustan and having embarked at Jeroon, in the Persian Gulf, arrived safely at Dabul a port on the Malabar Coast to the south of Goa in 1458. From Dabul he went to Ahmedabad Bieder, where he was taken into the service of Khajeh Imad-ud-Din, who introduced him into the royal

household as one of his Turkish slaves. Yusuf soon gained favour at Court, and was placed under the master of the house, who, dying soon after, he was appointed his successor in office. Yusuf then attached himself to the fortunes of Nizam-ul-Mulk Turk, who was the nobleman who had killed Khajeh Jehan in open Durbar, by command of the Sultan Muhammed, soon after he came to the throne. Nizam-ul-Mulk formed a great attachment to the young Prince in disguise, and called him his brother. This attachment was returned and, as will be seen further on, Yusuf, who was now honoured with the title of Adil Khan, was Nizam-ul-Mulk's faithful friend and follower until his death. It was this adventurous young Prince Yusuf who was destined before long to be the founder of another dynasty, which was to supplant the house of Bahmanee, and rule with splendour in the Deccan for nearly two hundred years, until at last conquered by the all-powerful Aurungzebe. This new dynasty was the Adil Shahi house of Bijapur.

No sooner had Sultan Muhammed Shah arrived at maturity, than he resolved upon conquest. In 1467 he sent Nizam-ul-Mulk to Berar as Governor, with instructions to take the fort of Kurleh, which had come into the possession of the Sultan of Malwa. Nizam-ul-Mulk was accompanied by his young friend and companion, Yusuf Adil Khan, who was in constant attendance on his person. Siege was laid to Kurleh, and, after defeating several armies sent to relieve it, Nizam-ul-Mulk managed by a bold assault to take the fort itself. The victorious soldiery seem to have indulged in abuse of the conquered Hindoos, which so enraged two Rajputs, that they resolved to murder the Mahomedan General. Asking to be admitted unarmed to salute so brave a man, they were allowed into his presence, when snatching a sword from a bystander, one of them plunged it into his body. Nizam-ul-Mulk fell mortally wounded, and the two Rajputs were cut to pieces.

Yusuf Adil Khan and another Turkish officer, named Direa Khan, then took command of the army, and after leaving a strong garrison in the fort returned to Bieder, carrying with them the body of the General, and a large amount of plunder. The Sultan was so pleased at the bravery of these two young officers, that he promoted them to the rank of one thousand with the fortress of Kurleh and its dependencies in jaghir. After this war, which was really in retaliation for the unprovoked invasion by the Sultan of Malwa during the previous reign, peace was made between the two Sultans, and a treaty drawn, based upon the former one, executed in the time of Sultan Ahmed. Under this treaty, Berar was confirmed to the Deccan, and Kurleh, as before, given to Malwa. Both princes bound themselves to respect each other's countries in future, and to live in peace and harmony together. The provision of the treaty were at once carried out, Kurleh was restored to Malwa, and we are told that no disagreements ever after happened between the two royal families.

Yusuf Adil Khan now attached himself to the person of Khajeh Gawan who held him in so high an estimation that he styled him his adopted son. In 1469, Khajeh Gawan was despatched with a large army to put down the pirates of the Western Coast. From time immemorial the pirates of the Western Coast of India had been the terror of the peaceful traders from the Persian Gulf. Pliny speaks of them "as having committed depredations on the Roman trade to East India." At the time in question the Rajahs of Songeer and Khaluch are said to have maintained a fleet of three hundred vessels. Khajeh Gawan's expedition lasted for three seasons, and was eminently successful. He captured most of the pirates strongholds, and also the capital of the Rajah of Songeer, when he took ample vengeance for the treacherous slaughter of Malick-ul-Tijar, on a former occasion. He also captured the important port of Goa, which, at that time, belonged to Vijayanagar.

After this, he returned laden with treasure to Bieder, where he was received by the Sultan with great honour and public rejoicings. The Sultan himself and the Queen mother honoured the successful General with a visit, and spent a whole week in his house, on which occasion the Queen mother called him brother. As soon as the Sultan left, the following incident occurred, as told by Ferishta. Khajeh Gawan retired to his chamber, disrobed himself, and began to weep with a loud voice. After this, he came out in the garb of a dervish, and calling together all the learned men, divines, and Seyds, distributed amongst them the whole of his jewels, money, and property, reserving only his elephants, horses, and library. He then thanked God that he had escaped from the temptations of his evil passions, and was freed from danger. On being asked for the reason of this strange conduct, he replied that when the Sultan had honoured him with a visit, and the Queen mother had called him brother, his evil passions began to prevail over his reason; and the struggle of vice and virtue was so great in his mind, that he became distressed, even in the presence of his Majesty, who kindly enquired the cause of his concern, on which he was obliged to feign illness in excuse, when the Sultan advised him to take repose, and then returned to his palace. He had, therefore, he continued, parted with his wealth, the cause of his temptations, that his library he intended for the use of students, and his elephants and horses he regarded as the Sultan's lent to him for a season only. From this time forward this great and good man always wore plain dress, lived simply, and on Fridays went about the city disguised, distributing money amongst the poor, and telling them that it was sent by the Sultan.

In 1471 the Rajah of Oristela, in which kingdom were included Rajahmundry and the present Godavery, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam Districts, applied to the Sultan for assistance against a slave who had usurped the throne. The Sultan was

only too glad to have an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of this part of India, and at once despatched an army under Malick Hassan to the assistance of the Rajah, whose name is given as Himber. The rebel was defeated without difficulty, and Himber was reinstated. The Rajah thereupon proclaimed himself to be a vassal of the Sultan, and Malick Hassan returned to headquarters, with a large amount of plunder. In recognition of his success, he was appointed Governor of Telingana. Yusuf Adil Khan, who had now been actually adopted by Khajeh Gawan, was appointed to Dowlatabad. He took with him his old comrade Deria Khan, and in a short time recovered several forts, which had become alienated since the Malwa invasion. One of these was the fort of Weragur, which was the ancestral residence of a Mahratta Rajah, named Jey Singh. He appears to have been formerly tributary to the Bahmanee Sultans, but assumed independence after the Malwa invasion. After sustaining a siege of six months, Jey Singh offered to give up his fort and treasure, if allowed to depart with his family unmolested. This was granted, and Yusuf Adil Khan was fortunate enough to acquire an immense booty and a new country without any bloodshed. A similar success was gained over the Chief of Ranjee, and Yusuf then returned to Bieder, laden with spoil which he laid before the Sultan. Muhammed Shah was highly pleased, and bestowed further honours upon Yusuf, at the same time remarking that whoever had Khajeh Gawan as a father could not fail to render important services. Yusuf was then by command of the Sultan entertained for a week by his adopted father, at the end of which the Sultan himself honoured the Khajeh with a visit, during which the Minister bestowed upon his master a vast number of valuable gifts, amongst which were "fifty dishes of gold with covers set with jewels, each large enough to hold a roasted lamb; one hundred slaves of Circassia, Georgia, and Abyssinia, most of whom were accomplished singers and musicians; one hun-

dred horses of Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, and one hundred pieces of superb China, not to be seen except in the palaces of great princes." After this, we are told "the favour of Khajeh Gawan and Adil Khan became so great that they were courted and envied by all the nobility; and the Deccanees, like wounded vipers tormenting themselves, bound up the waist band of enmity against them." In 1472 the King of Vijayanagar made an attempt to recover possession of Goa, and sent the Rajahs of Belgaum and Bankipur with a large army for that purpose. Muhammed Shah with Khajeh Gawan at once marched to its relief, and sat down before Belgaum, which is described as having been a fort of great strength, encircled by a deep moat over which there was but one passage covered by redoubts. The Rajah, who is called by Ferishta, Pirkna, at first made overtures of peace to the Sultan, which, however, were refused, and the siege was prosecuted with vigour. The Rajah had placed the greatest confidence in his moat, but this the Sultan had filled in, and then breached the walls in three places by mines, which, we are told, had never been previously used for siege purposes. An assault was then made, in which, though he lost two thousand men, the Sultan was ultimately successful. Only the citadel remained, in which the Rajah shut himself up. Seeing, however, that defeat was inevitable, he went in disguise to the Sultan's camp, and being there admitted to an audience, he tendered his submission. This was accepted, and the Sultan then took possession of Belgaum, which, with its dependencies, he gave to Khajeh Gawan in jaghir. It was during this expedition that the Queen mother, who had accompanied the Sultan died. Her body was sent with great pomp to Bieder to be buried. A great deal of the prosperity of this reign was due to the able counsels of this lady, and there can be no doubt, that had she still been by the Sultan's side, he would not have committed a few years afterwards the great injustice which

was to lead to the ruin of the Bahmanee Kingdom.

On his return to Bieder, the Sultan halted for some time at Bijapur, the climate and position of which pleased him greatly. Here he intended to stop for the wet weather, but was prevented, by the scarcity which prevailed over the whole of this part of the Deccan. This famine lasted for two years. No grain is said to have been sown during the whole of that time throughout the Bahmanee dominions, and thousands upon thousands of people died of hunger. Exaggerated reports of this famine and of the manner in which the Sultan's armies had been reduced, spread to the Telingana and Orissa country, and the Rajahs of Oriya and Orissa resolved to make a last attempt to shake off the Mahomedan yoke. Accordingly, they advanced with a large army, and compelled the Mahomedan Governor of Rajahmundry to shut himself up in the fort, and laid the rest of Telingana between the Godavery and Kistna waste. Muhammed Shah at once marched in person to oppose this invasion, and the Hindoos retired. The Oriya Rajah shut himself up in the fort of Kundapally, and the Orissa Rajah retreated across the Godavery into his own dominions. Here he was followed by the Sultan, who plundered all his towns, and drove the Rajah into the extreme limits of his kingdom. The Sultan had at first resolved to send for Khajeh Gawan and establish him in this province, but the Rajah hearing of his intentions began to sue for forgiveness. This was granted on payment of a large indemnity, of which twenty-five celebrated elephants formed a not uninportant portion, since the Rajah is said to have valued them next to his life. The Sultan then laid siege to Kundapally, which he also took, and with his own hands destroyed a temple and killed some Brahmin devotees. This act was looked upon by everybody as one of sacrilege, and popular opinion traced the misfortunes that subsequently occurred to the divine anger at so wanton an outrage.

Muhammed Shah remained nearly three years at Rajahmundry, and during this time settled the whole of the Telingana country. He appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk as Governor of Rajahmundry and Kundapally, with his son as deputy, and Azim Khan to Warangal and its dependencies, and then set out on an expedition to subdue Narsinga, a Governor of a portion of the Vijayanagar Kingdom. There seems to be some doubt as to the site of Narsinga's capital, but it is generally supposed to have been somewhere near the present Kurnool. Kurnool is situated just below the junction of the rivers Kistna and Tungabadhra, and according to Cunningham ("Ancient Geography of India") stands on the site of the Choliya (Chu-li-ye) mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Tsang, in the seventh century. This spot is also held by the same authority to be the old town of Zora—the Sora spoken of by Ptolemy—and he considers a branch of the ancient family of Sora founded the city of Shorapore, about one hundred miles to the west-north-west of Kurnool; the Rajah of which, he says, "still holds his patrimonial appanage, surrounded by his faithful tribe (Bedars), claiming a descent of more than thirty centuries." The last Rajah of Shorapore died in 1858, after a vain attempt at mutiny, and the tragic story of his end is told by Meadows Taylor in the "Story of My life." There are still some direct descendants alive, but the Raj is now incorporated with the Nizam's Dominions, and the surviving members subsist upon small pensions. This Narsimha or Narsinga was a man of considerable importance. Ferishta says that he held the whole of the country between the Carnatic and Telingana, extending on the sea coast to Masulipatam. There seems to be some doubt, whether he was an independent Prince or a Governor of a Vijayanagar province. The latter seems to be probable, for a few years hence we shall find him ruling at Vijayanagar, as the first of a new dynasty which had replaced that of Hari Hara.

Though Muhammed Shah was successful in his invasion of Nursinga's country, we do not read of any engagement between the Sultan and the Hindoo General, from which it seems probable that Nursinga was absent, possibly in Vijayanagar, following out his own schemes of ambition. The Mahomedan army met with but little opposition, and is said to have taken Masulipatam, and then to have marched against the sacred town of Conjeveram. This is the first time that a Mahomedan force had reached this centre of Hindooism, and fabulous accounts are given of the riches and splendour of the temple, the walls and roofs of which are described as having been plated with gold and ornamented with precious stones. Conjeveram was taken by assault, after the Sultan had killed a gigantic Hindoo in personal encounter. An immense plunder fell into the hands of the conquering army. Gold and jewels were in such profusion that the Mahomedans left everything of less value behind. Muhammed Shah stayed here for one week, and then marched back to his own country. In this expedition the Sultan had been accompanied by Khajeh Gawan, to whose counsel and assistance much of his success was due. The Khajeh's power and influence, however, was so great, that it had the effect of causing the long smouldering jealousy of the Deccanee nobles to break into open flame. Nizam-ul-Mulk, Nireef-ul-Mulk, and others formed a plot to ruin him, and the way it was carried out was as follows: Khajeh Gawan's right hand was Yusuf Adil Khan, and as long as these two were together, they were able to carry out all their plans of reform. These plans appear to have been conceived solely with the view of promoting the Sultan's interest, and of abolishing many of the abuses that had crept into the Government of the provinces. One reform was especially distasteful, as it consisted in a check upon the numbers of men maintained by the military Governors. Every Governor was required to keep up a definite number of men,

for each of whom an allowance was fixed; thus a noble of five hundred received a lakh and a quarter of pagodas, and one of one thousand, two and a half lakhs; if the revenue of the jaghirs fell short of this amount, the deficiency was made up from the royal treasury; but on the other hand, strict rules regarding "men in buckram" were passed, and for every man found deficient, the full pay and allowance were deducted.

Touched in their pockets, the nobles all joined in hating Khajeh Gawan, and an opportunity occurring of Yusuf Adil Khan being sent against Masulipatam, they resolved to carry out their scheme. They managed to intoxicate an Abyssinian slave who had charge of the Khajeh's seals, and showing him a paper, said that it was necessary to get the Minister's seal in addition to certain others. The slave without looking into the paper affixed his master's seal, and then took the paper away. This paper was blank, and above the seal a letter was subsequently written purporting to be addressed by Khajeh Gawan to the Rajah of Orissa. In this letter the Khajeh was made to say: "I am weary of the drunkenness and cruelty of Muhammed Shah. Deccan may be conquered with little trouble, as at Rajahmundry and at that frontier there is no General of any note. You may invade that quarter without opposition, and as most of the nobles and the troops are devoted to me, I will join you with a powerful army. When we have in conjunction reduced the Sultan, we will divide his territories equally between us." This letter was given to the Sultan by Nireef-ul-Mulk and Mastah Hubshee when Nizam-ul-Mulk was present. The Sultan at once fell into the trap, his rage being artfully increased by Nizam-ul-Mulk, and at once sent for the supposed traitor. Some of the Khajeh's friends hearing what had happened, strongly advised him not to obey the order, but to take flight, promising to help him with ten thousand horse. Khajeh Gawan, however, refused all their offers, and simply remarked: "This beard has grown

white in the auspicious service of the father, and it will be honourable should it be dyed with my blood by the fortunes of the son; there is no evading the decrees of fate, and to draw the neck from its sentence, is impossible." He then at once went to the Sultan's presence, and Ferishta thus relates what followed: "Muhammed Shah sternly exclaimed: "When anyone is disloyal to his sovereign, and his crime is proved, what should be his punishment?" The Khajeh replied: "The abandoned wretch who practises treachery against his lord, should meet with nothing but the sword." The Sultan then showed him the letter, upon seeing which he, after repeating the verse of the Koran ('O God, this is a great forgery!') said: "The seal is mine, but not the letter, of which I have no knowledge." He concluded by repeating the following verses: "By the God whose command the just have obeyed with their blood, false as the story of Yusuf (Joseph) and the wolf, is what my enemies have forged of me." As the Sultan was intoxicated with wine, and had resigned his soul to anger, and the decline of the house of Bahmanee was near, he attended not to the examination of facts, but rising from the assembly, ordered Johir, an Abyssinian, to put the Minister to death upon the spot. Khajeh Gawan addressed the Sultan and said: "The death of an old man like me is of little moment to myself, but to you it will prove the ruin of an Empire, and of your own glory." The Sultan attended not to his words, but abruptly retired into his harem. The slave then drawing his sabre, advanced towards the Khajeh, who kneeling down, and facing the Kibleh, said: "There is no God but God, and Mahomed is the prophet of God." When the sabre reached his neck, he cried: "Praise be to God for the blessing of martyrdom," and resigned his soul to the divine mercy. At the time of his death, Khajeh Gawan was seventy-eight years old."

This cruel murder of an old and faithful servant sent a

thrill of indignation throughout the whole of the Sultan's Dominions. Two of the principal nobles, Imad-ul-Mulk and Khodawund Khan, the Governors of the two provinces of Berar, at once removed with their troops to a distance, and refused to come to the Sultan's presence, until Yusuf Adil Khan should be sent for. This was done, and Adil Khan at once came, overwhelmed with grief at the death of his benefactor and adopted father. Overtures were now made to the disgusted noblemen, but although all their demands were granted, they refused to join the Sultan's camp, and pitched their own at a distance, paying their respects each day from afar off surrounded by their own guards. Before long Imad-ul-Mulk and Khodawund Khan retired, without taking leave, to their Government in Berar, and Yusuf Adil Khan having been confirmed in the jaghirs of Belgaum and Bijapur, marched with his army against Sivarajah, the King of Vijayanagar, who had broken into revolt. The Sultan, thus deserted by his principal Generals, was obliged to submit, and retired to Firozeabad, "seemingly spending his hours in pleasure, but inwardly a prey to grief and sorrow, which wasted his strength daily." From Firozeabad the Sultan returned to his capital, Bieder, and continuing to indulge in wine and debauchery, he at last succumbed to their effects. After a more than usual indulgence, he fell into fits, during which he frequently cried out that Khajeh Gawan was tearing him into pieces, till at length he died on the 1st Suffer, 887 H., after a reign of twenty years, and in the twenty-ninth year of his age. The date of his death, says Ferishta, is comprised in the following verses:—

"The King of Kings, Sultan Muhammed, when suddenly he plunged into the ocean of death, as Deccan became waste by his departure, 'the ruin of Deccan' was the date of his death."

CHAPTER XII.

THE END OF THE HOUSE OF BAHMANEE.

BIEDER.

With the death of Sultan Muhammed, the history of the house of Bahmanee as a separate and independent dynasty may be said to cease. It is true that his son Mahmood Shah was placed on the throne, as a boy of eight years of age; reigned for thirty-seven years, and was succeeded by three other Sultans; but these princes were nothing more than puppets, and their dominions were confined to the capital of Bieder, and its immediate vicinity. Taking advantage of the youth of the young Sultan, the powerful nobles of the different provinces

asserted each his own independence. The first few years of the new reign were signalized by a series of struggles and intrigues. The capital itself was for many days the scene of a bloody struggle between the Deccanees and the Abyssinians on the one hand, and the Turks and Moguls on the other. Yusuf Adil Shah was the first to take advantage of this confusion. Supported by his old comrade and faithful follower, Deria Khan, he retired to Bijapur and there had the *Kutba* read in his own name. Malick Ahmed, the Governor of Dowlatabad, soon followed his example, and founded the capital of Ahmednagar, and the dynasty of the Nizam Shahee Sultans. In Berar Imad-ul-Mulk proclaimed his independence, and read the *Kutba* in his capital Burhanpore, and finally Kootb-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Golconda, who for some years had been practically independent, in 1510 proclaimed himself Sultan of Golconda and the Telingana country, and was the first of a dynasty called after his own name. In Bieder itself the Sultan was a mere tool in the hands of his Minister, a man named Cassim Bereed, who had been a Turkish slave, but who by intrigues had gradually risen to power. In 1490 an attempt was made by the Sultan to shake off the yoke of this too powerful Minister, in which attempt he was helped by one Delawar Khan. At first, Cassim Bereed was defeated, and had to fly towards Golconda. In a second encounter, however, Dilawar Khan was killed, and the royal army being defeated, Cassim Bereed returned to Bieder in triumph. A seeming reconciliation ensued between the Minister and the Sultan, and the former "seated securely on the *musnud* of administration left nothing but a nominal royalty to Mahmood Shah. The historians of the Bereed dynasty reckon the establishment of it from this period."

At the close of the fifteenth century, we find, therefore, five Mahomedan kingdoms in the Deccan, which had divided amongst themselves the territories of the Bahmanee Sultans.

By far the most important of these was the Bijapur kingdom of Yusuf Adil Shah. It extended from Sholapore and Gulburga in the north, down to Goa in the south. On the East its neighbour was the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and its boundary the River Kistna. The forts of Raichore and Mukdul were Mahomedan, but the country between the two rivers Kistna and Tungabadhra was still a debatable land. We have, therefore, arrived at the close of the first period of the Mahomedan occupation of the Deccan, and we shall be better able to trace the further sequence of events by following the fortunes of the Bijapur kings, noting from time to time the occurrences in the neighbouring States. But, before taking leave of the Bahmanee Sultans—for in future, their names will only occur incidentally—this would seem to be the place for a description of their capital, Ahmedabad Bieder. We quote again from the historical and descriptive account of Hyderabad :—

The city of Bieder in the days of its prosperity must have been of vast extent. A modern writer, referring to the rapidity of its erection, says:—"Soon, as if by magic, rose, some miles to the north of Gulburga, one of the most splendid cities of India or of the world. The great mosque of Ahmedabad Bieder was for centuries unequalled for simple grandeur and solemnity, and the more delicate beauties of the Ivory Mosque, inlaid with gems and mother-o'-pearl, was long one of the favourite themes with which travellers delighted to illustrate the wealth and prodigality of the realms of the Far East." Unfortunately, few authentic details as to the extent of the city have come down to us, Athanasius Nitikin, a Russian Armenian, who in 1470 visited Bieder as a merchant, "gives in his diary an interesting description of the country and its capital. There were villages at every *coss*. The land was laid out in fields, and the ground well tilled The roads were well guarded, and travelling secure. Bieder is described as a noble city with great salubrity of climate, and the king,

Mahmood Shah,* as a little man 20 years old, with an army of 300,000 men well equipped. Artillery is not mentioned, but there were many elephants, to the trunks of which scythes were attached in action, and they were clad in bright steel armour." When Aurangzebe invested the place in 1656 Bieder was described as 4,500 yards in circumference, having three deep ditches 25 yards wide, and 15 yards deep, cut in the stone.

Monsieur Thevenot, who visited Bieder in 1667, says:—"It is a great town; it is encompassed with Brick-Walls which have battlements, and at certain distances Towers; they are mounted with great Cannon, some whereof have the mouth three Foot wide. There is commonly in this place a Garrison of Three thousand Men, half Horse and half Foot, with Seven hundred Gunners; the Garrison is kept in good order, because of the importance of the place against Deccan, and that they are always afraid of a surprise. The Governor lodges in a Castle without the Town; it is a rich Government, and he who commanded in it when I was there was Brother-in-law to King Changeant (Shah Jehan) Auran-Zeb's Father; but having since desired the Government of Brampour (which is worth more,) he had it, because in the last War, that Governor had made an Army of the King of Viziapour raise the siege from before Bieder. Some time after, I met the new Governor upon the road to Bieder, who was a Persian of a good aspect, and pretty well striken in years; he was carried, before whom marched several Men on foot, carrying blew Banners charged with flames of Gold, and after them came seven Elephants. The Governor's Palanquin was followed with several others full of Women, and covered with red

* This statement is entirely opposed to Ferishta's chronology. According to the latter, Mahmood Shah did not ascend the throne until 1482, and was then only eight years of age. This is no doubt a mistake for Muhammed Shah, who, in 1470, had already been reigning for eight years, and was then 17 years of age.

Searge, and there were two little Children in one that was open. The Bamboons of all these Palanquins, were covered with Plates of Silver chamfered; after them came many Chariots full of Women; two of which were drawn by white Oxen, almost six Foot high; and last of all, come the Wagons with the Baggage, and several Camels guarded by Troopers."

The majority of the palaces and musjids, public buildings, gardens, baths, &c., with which the Bahmanee kings adorned their capital are now in ruins, but there is sufficient remaining to give an admirable idea of the vast extent and magnificence of the city. Perhaps the most remarkable of all the buildings was the College or Madrissah, built by Mahmud Gawan, the Minister of Mahmood Shah.

After the capture of Bieder by Aurangzebe, this splendid range of buildings was appropriated to the double purpose of a powder magazine, and barrack for a body of cavalry, when, by accident, the powder exploding destroyed the greater part of the edifice, causing dreadful havoc around. The explosion happened in the year 1695. Sufficient of the work remains, however, even at the present day, to afford some notion of its magnificence and beauty. The outline of the square, and some of the apartments, are yet entire, and one of the minarets is still standing. It is more than one hundred feet in height, ornamented with tablets, on which sentences of the Koran, in white letters, three feet in length, standing forth on a ground of green and gold, still exhibit to the spectator a good sample of what this superb edifice was. The College is one of the very many beautiful remains of the grandeur of the Bahmanee and Bereed dynasties, which flourished at Bieder; and they render a visit to that city an object of lively interest to all travellers.

Sir Richard Temple, who visited Bieder in 1861, says: "The bastions of the fortress had a rich colouring subdued by age, being built of the red laterite of which the hills are

there formed. The style of the mosque was grand and severe, quite different from the polished and graceful manner of the Mogul architects in later times. The chief object of beauty in the place was the College. The exterior of the building had once been covered with exquisitely coloured glazing in floral devices, of which there was still much remaining to delight the spectator. This building is perhaps the finest of its kind surviving in India."

Bieder contains eight gateways four of which, however, are closed. The Fateh gate bears a Persian inscription to the effect that it was constructed by the Subedar of Bieder in 1082 Hijri (A. D. 1671). The Shah Ganj gate was constructed in the year previous. The Thalghat gate was built in the same year as the Fateh. The Sharzah or Lion gate, which is decorated with effigies of lions cut in the stone buttresses of the gateway, was erected in 1094 Hijri (A. D. 1682).

The fortifications of the place, which are very strong, are still well preserved, the battlemented walls of the city and the citadel having a most striking appearance, as they are approached. On the bastions, of which there are a large number many pieces of ordnance, made chiefly of bluish-coloured metal and highly polished, are found; some of them have the maker's name engraved upon them, together with the charge of powder to be used. The ruined buildings in the fort have all been constructed of trap. The Rang Mahal, so called from having its fronts adorned with coloured tiles, contains some apartments which are said to have formed portions of an old Hindoo temple. The citadel also contains the ruins of a mint, a Turkish bath, an arsenal and several powder magazines. There is also a well 150 feet deep. Another building of note in the citadel is the musjid close to one of the old palaces, which is probably the one alluded to, as having been long unequalled for grandeur and solemnity. It has evidently been a building of considerable beauty, but it is now much damaged, the roof

has fallen in some places, and the building has suffered considerably by decay and neglect.

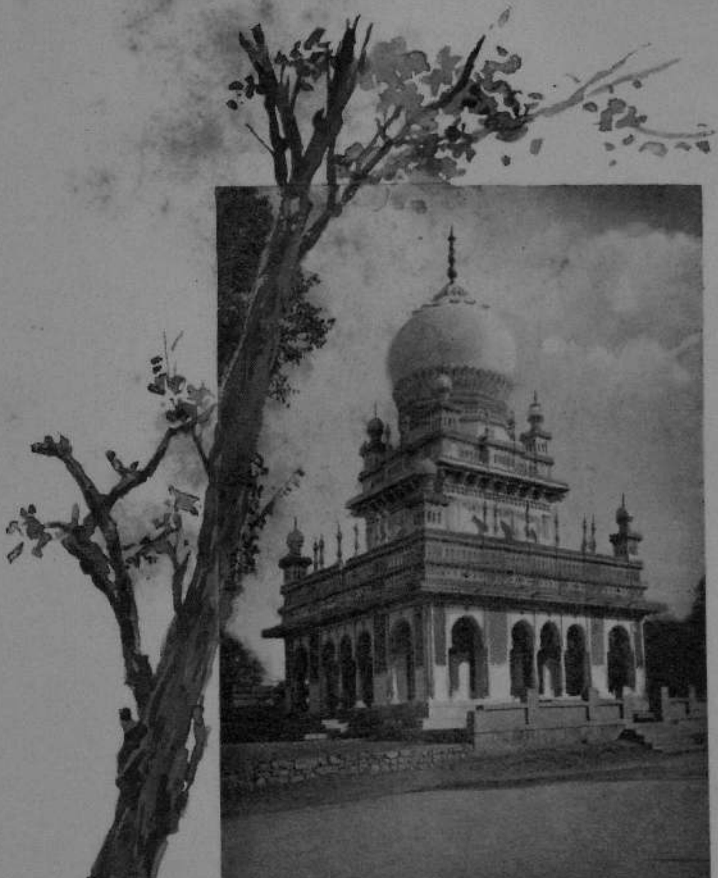
Between five and six miles north-east of the city are the tombs of the Bahmanee kings who died at Bieder. Close to the western gate is the tomb of Amír Bareed Shah, which is probably the best. It is of an imposing height, and has a richly ornamented interior. The tombs of the Bahmanee kings, of which there are ten altogether, are all built on large oblong platforms, and consist of huge square buildings surmounted by domes similar to those at Golconda. The largest of them is that of Ahmed Shah, who removed the capital from Gulburga to Bieder in 1432, and build this mausoleum, upon which is inscribed in Persian the following couplet:—

> "Should my heart ache, my remedy is this,
> A cup of wine and then I sup of bliss."

The tomb of the Minister Mahmood Gawan (Khajeh Gawan) contains a Persian inscription signifying "the unjust execution," and that "without fault he became a martyr."

Bieder is celebrated for the manufacture of a kind of metal-ware which is styled Bidri-work. The metal is composed of an alloy of copper, lead, tin, and zinc. It is worked into articles of most elegant designs, and inlaid with silver and occasionally gold. The articles manufactured consist chiefly of vases, hookahs, basins, &c. There is unfortunately not much demand now for these elegant manufactures, and proportionately but a small quantity is turned out. Many specimens of it have been sent to England, and a large number of articles were made in 1875 for presentation to the Prince of Wales.

END OF PART I.



MODERN TOMB AT SECUNDERABAD.

PART II.

HISTORY OF BIJAPUR AND OF THE DECCAN DOWN TO ITS SUBJUGATION BY AURUNGZEBE (A. D. 1500—1680).

CHAPTER XIII.

YUSUF ADIL SHAH OF BIJAPUR.

THE period of two hundred years which this portion of the history of the Deccan comprises was one of great restlessness, and is full of important events. We have shown in the last chapter, that out of the ruins of the Bahmanee empire, there arose five Mahomedan kingdoms. Almost the whole of this period was taken up by internecine wars amongst these Mahomedan Kings. During the first portion of the sixteenth century the Hindoo Kingdom of Vijayanagar profited by the weakness of the various Mahomedan States, and rapidly rose in power. The original Hari Hara dynasty had come to an end towards the close of the fifteenth century. It was probably at its zenith about the time of Abdur Razzak's visit in 1444. Allusion has already been made to this traveller and to his

glowing accounts of the splendour of the Vijayanagar Court. Under the successors of Deva Raya, the King who entertained Abdur Razzak, and who successfully fought against Sultan Alla-ud-Din of Gulburgah, the Hindoo power began to decline. Under Malikarjuna (1451—1465) and Virupaksha (1465—1479) several reverses were sustained, and the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin, who was in the Deccan in 1474, says that the King of Bieder attacked and took Vijayanagar, killing some 20,000 Hindoos. The Sultan of Bieder at this time was Mahomed Shah the King, who, by the murder of Khajeh Gawan, brought about the ruin of the kingdom. Ferishta's account of this Prince is a very full one, but, strange to say, he makes no mention of any capture of Vijayanagar. We read of two wars waged by Mahomed Shah against outlying provinces of Vijayanagar such as Belgaum (1472) and Kurnool and Conjeveram later on (1474—75), but nothing is said of a siege of the capital. It is, therefore, probable that Nikitin's account is a mistake, and the defeat alluded to was of the Vijayanagar army only. The last King of the Hari Hara dynasty was Virupaksha, and he was succeeded or supplanted about 1480 by Narasimha or Narsinga, the founder of a new dynasty. This Narasimha is the same man against whom Sultan Mahomed Shah sent an army. He was the Governor of Kurnool, and of all the East Coast. This expedition has been described in Chapter XI. Narasimha is said by some to have been a slave of the last King Virupaksha, and by others to have been a Telugu Chieftain, and it is possible that he was a descendant of the old Choliyan family, which was ruling in the Kurnool portion of the Deccan in the seventh century. At all events about 1780 Narasimha was the *de facto* sovereign of Vijayanagar, and in a very short time he had established his rule over the whole of Southern India, for the Portuguese called the country south of the Kistna as far as Cape Comorin the Narsinga country. How long Narasimha

reigned seems to be doubtful. By some authorities it is stated that he was succeeded by his son of the same name in 1487, but Dr. Burnell is of opinion that Virupaksha reigned until 1490. It is, however, certain that a Narasimha reigned until 1509, when he was succeeded by Krishna Deva Raya, the greatest and most powerful of all the Vijayanagar Kings. About Krishna-Deva Raya there can be no doubt. Not only does he live in tradition, but his name is found in numerous inscriptions, and authentic (Hindoo) histories exist regarding his reign. But, strange to say, the Mahomedan authorities, to whom we owe so much, are absolutely silent regarding this King. His name is not even mentioned by them, and his reign is passed over in silence. The various Ministers are frequently spoken of, and the Mahomedan writers say that the Ministers possessed the actual authority and kept the real Rajas in subjection. This is especially noticeable towards the end of the Hindoo period just before its downfall. Mr. Sewell, however, in his "Antiquities of Southern India" (Vol. 2) points out that, however this may have been, in the inscriptions the names of the ruling sovereigns are always mentioned. It is certain that from 1509 until 1530 Krishna Deva Raya ruled over the whole of the south of India, from coast to coast. He does not seem to have meddled much with the Mahomedan Kingdoms, unless first attacked, but his own Kingdom was thoroughly consolidated. Krishna Deva Raya's conquest extended as far north as Cuttack, and we shall see later on how he defeated the Bijapur Sultan and retook Raichore with an enormous army. Some writers think that it was through jealousy that the Mahomedan writers omit all mention of this victorious Hindoo King.

At the same time as the Hindoo Kingdom of Vijayanagar was threatening the Mahomedan supremacy in the south, the foundations of another Hindoo power were being laid in the West. During this period of two hundred years, the Mahrattas

grew from scattered freebooters into a great nation, and early in the sixteenth century the first of the European nations settled at Goa. The division therefore of the great Bahmanee Kingdom into five smaller ones was singularly unfortunate, and, weakened by their own jealousies and quarrels, and by the constant struggles with their Hindoo and European neighbours, it was not a difficult task for Aurangzebe to eventually conquer them, one by one. After this slight glance at the state of affairs, we will now revert to Bijapur the first, the greatest, and the last but one of the new Mahomedan Kingdoms to survive.

It has been narrated how after the murder of Khajeh Gawan, Yusuf Adil Shah, in 1489, declared his independance. The romantic early history of this King has also been narrated, and his subsequent reign of twenty-one years fully justified the promises of his youth. Bijapur, the capital of the new Kingdom, stands on the site of an old Hindoo town, called Bichkhanhalli, and five other villages. There are still to be found some inscriptions from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and some Hindoo columns of victory, from which the name of the city is derived—Vijaya-pur, or City of Victory. Yusuf Adil Shah at once set himself to work to complete the defences of his new capital, which for many years had been the seat of a Governor of the Bahmanee King. He built the citadel, or Ark-killah, which was subsequently improved and beautified by his successors, until it became "a perfect treasury of artistic buildings" (Silcock in *Bombay Gazetteer*), and commenced the city walls, which were not completed until fifteen years later. As was to be expected, the new King was not allowed to maintain his independence without having to fight for it. He was at once attacked by Kassim Bereed, the all powerful Minister of the Bieder Sultan. Narasimha, the Regent or Ruler of Vijayanagar, joined Bereed in this enterprize, but the combination was

beaten off without much difficulty, and for two or three years Adil Shah was left in peace. In 1792, Adil Shah felt himself strong enough to attack Vijayanagar, and taking advantage of certain dissentions, endeavoured to surprise Raichore. Ferishta calls the Ruler of Vijayanagar *Heem* Rajah, and speaks of him as the Regent or guardian of the young Rajah. The word Heem is clearly a corruption of the word *Nara-shim*, and the fact of a "young Roy" or Rajah being spoken of, would seem to show that nominally the old dynasty had not yet been set aside, and that Narasimha conducted the Government in the name and under the authority of the titular King. Narasimha advanced to relieve Raichore, and crossed the Tungabudhra, accompanied by the young Rajah. An engagement followed, in which the Sultan's attack was at first repulsed, but on the Hindoos scattering in search of plunder, the Sultan charged them with his reserve, with such desparation that they broke and fled in all directions. The plunder that was left behind was enormous, no less than two hundred elephants, one thousand horse, and sixty lakhs of *oons* (equal to one million eight hundred thousand pounds). Ferishta says that in this engagement, the young Rajah was wounded, and died on the road to his capital, after which "Heem Rajah" seized the Government of the country. Although there seems to be no doubt that Narasimha, the former ruler or Governor of Kurnool, was the *de facto* Ruler of Vijayanagar from about 1480, it will be probably safest to fix the date of the extinction of the Hari Hara or first Vijayanagar, dynasty, as 1492. Whether the "Heem Rajah" who then succeeded was the original Narasimha, or his son of the same name, cannot now be decided, and does not seem to be very material.*

* The inscriptions collected by Mr. Robert Sewell ("Lists of Antiquities of Madras," Vol. II.) show conclusively that Narasimha I. had two sons, the elder of the same name, and the younger named Krishna

The plunder obtained by Adil Shah in this war was of immense use to him, in establishing his new Kingdom. A large portion was spent in strengthening and beautifying his capital, and by liberal presents he attached several able officers to his fortunes. Nor did he forget the old master, from whom he had rebelled, but sent Mahmood Bahmanee at Bieder two splendid robes embroidered with precious stones, two horses shod with gold, and saddles and bridles set with jewels. Indeed, for some time to come, the Adil Shahi Kings, although independent, continued to acknowledge the Bahmanee Sultans, and afforded them assistance whenever called upon. Shortly afterwards, Sultan Mahmood Bahmanee paid Adil Shah a visit at Bijapur, where he was royally entertained. When the Sultan was about to leave a number of costly presents were sent to him, but with the exception of one elephant he refused them all, on the ground that he would not be able to keep them, as Kassim Bereed would be certain to seize them, and that, therefore, Adil Shah had better keep them in trust, until, "like a faithful servant, he could deliver him from the usurpation of his Minister."

In 1495 Dustoor Deenar, the Governor of Gulburga, revolted

Deva. The author of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV., Part. II., distinctly states that in 1487, Narasimha I. was succeeded by his son Narasimha II. who reigned until 1508. Dr. Burnell, however (Dravidian Paleography), carries on Virupaksha, the last of the Hari Hara dynasty until 1490. Now, Dr. Burnell is a singularly careful and reliable authority, and it, therefore, seems that the explanation as given in the text is a correct one, and that from 1480 until the date of the battle between Adil Shah and "Heem Rajah" the Narasimhas were Regents on behalf of Virupaksha, and on his death, the son Vira Narasimha II. mounted the throne and founded a new dynasty. We find exactly the same confusion in the succession of the Mohamedan Sultans of Bieder. After the death of Mahomed Shah, the dynasty continued until late in the first half of the sixteenth century, but the Bereeds were the real Rulers and actually date their dynasty, from 1489, and are called by the Mahomedan historians, the Bereed Shahs of Bieder.

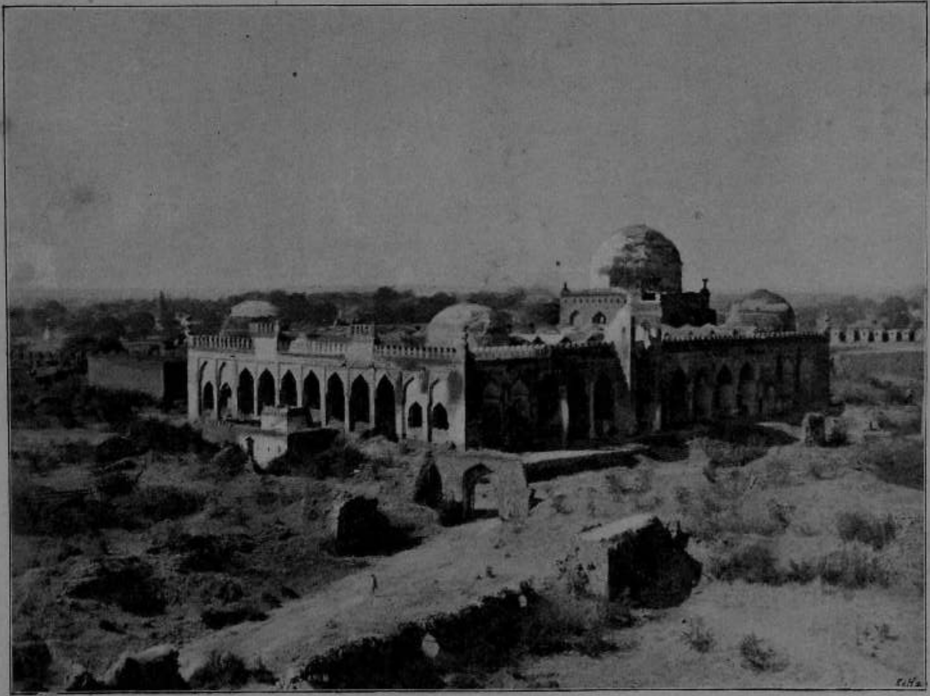
from the Bahmanee rule and assumed the royal title. Sultan Mahmood, or rather Kassim Bereed, the real Ruler, called upon Adil Shah for assistance, which was at once given, and the combined forces defeated and took the rebel prisoner. Kassim Bereed wished to put Dustoor Deenar to death, but from motives of policy Adil Shah interceded, and not only obtained his pardon, but contrived to get his Government of Gulburga restored. Two years afterwards a marriage was arranged between Adil Shah's daughter (an infant in the cradle) and Mahmood Shah's son, Ahmed, and a secret arrangement was made under which Adil Shah was to take possession of Gulburga and of Dustoor Deenar's provinces. In this way, the powerful Minister, Kassim Bereed, would be cut off from his estates. Bereed, alarmed at this, at once retired from Bieder and collected an army, but was defeated by Adil Shah near the town of Kinjooty (1497), and Mahmood Shah was taken back in triumph to his capital (Bieder). In the following year the different Deccan sovereigns came to a definite arrangement, under which they divided the Deccan between themselves. Adil Shah received the provinces of Dustoor Deenar, including Gulburga; Imad-ul-Mulk, the Sultan of Berar, received Mahore, Ramgeer, and the surrounding country; and Ahmed Nizam Shah, of Ahmednagar, got as his share Dowlatabad, Antore, Kalneh, and all the country up to the borders of Guzerat. Kassim Bereed was allowed to come back to his post at Bieder, but all the territory that was left to him was a small strip of land round the capital, with, however, the country then in the possession of Kutb-ul-Mulk. This, however, was not much of a gift, because in order to obtain it he would first of all have to dispossess Kutb-ul-Mulk, who resided in Golconda. This was a feat which Kassim Bereed never effected, for a few years later (1510) Kutb declared his independence, and became the founder of the Kutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda. The unfor-

tunate Bahmanee Sultan, therefore, was the principal loser by this war, in which Adil Shah had rendered him assistance. This help was dearly bought, and his great vassal Kings enriched themselves at their over lord's expense, leaving him the barren honour of ruling in a capital to which scarcely any territory was attached with a Minister who was virtually his master.

Dustoor Deenar made one more attempt to regain his provinces, and, assisted by three thousand horse sent to him by Ameer Bereed, the son of Kassim Bereed (who had now succeeded to his father's post), met Adil Shah on the banks of the Bhimrah. A fierce engagement ensued, which was won chiefly by the valour of the Sultan's brother, Guzzunfir Beg, by whose charge the enemy was put to rout and Dustoor Deenar killed. Ferishta thus describes the end of the battle:—"Ghuzzunfir Beg, who had received a severe wound, kneeling down with the rest of the Amras, performed the ceremonies of congratulation, and waved money and jewels over the Sultan's head in offering for the victory. Adil Shah kissing his eyes and forehead, clasped his noble brother in embrace, and superintended the dressing of his wounds, but all was vain; and the hero, according to the declarations of holy writ *(when their death comes they shall not delay an instant nor abide)*, after three days and nights, having drunk the Sherbet of martyrdom, speeded to the world eternal."*

This victory was the flood of Adil Shah's fortunes, and left him firmly established in his kingdom, which now extended from Gulburga and Sholapore to Goa, being bounded on the east by the Kistna, and on the west by the mountains of the Konkan.

* Ferishta calls Guzzunfir Beg the Sultan's brother, but it is difficult to understand how this could be, because Adil Shah, it will be remembered, was sent away from Constantinople to escape being killed as an infant, and only arrived in India, alone, after a series of adventures. Perhaps, however, he was the Sultan's *adopted* brother, as we are told by Ferishta that Adil Shah was *adopted* by Khajeh Gawan.



Great Mosque. Gulburga Fort.

In 1502, Adil Shah resolved upon a very important step, which was to change the religion of the State from the Sunnee to the Sheah creed. During his stay in Persia, Adil Shah had imbibed the Sheah doctrine, and was a disciple of the House of Suffeewee, which had now succeeded to the Government. This change of religion at first excited great animosity amongst his brother Sultans in the Deccan, who at once declared against him what is known as the "holy war of the four brothers." In introducing this change Adil Shah behaved with singular moderation. Converts or Perverts are generally very bigotted, but Adil Shah publicly let his subjects know that, whatever he might believe, he was not going to interfere with their beliefs. "My faith for myself and your faith for yourselves," was his tolerant maxim, and the result was that, although a few of his officers withdrew from his service, the majority remained loyal. At first the combination of the other Mahomeden Sultans seemed likely to crush Adil Shah, who throughout seems to have preferred maintaining a well-disciplined but numerically small standing army to the large and disorganized hordes that were then the fashion. Adil Shah's army was rarely more than 25,000 in strength, and he therefore, had to fight a cautious game. He never gave his enemies the chance of meeting him in a pitched battle, but carrying the war into their own territories, constantly avoided an engagement, hovering round the allied army and cutting off its supplies. Retreating before them as they advanced, he led the allied kings, not into his own territory, but into that of Imad-ul-mulk, the Sultan of Berar, who was favourably inclined towards him. Negociations were then commenced, and the allies were told that the war had been made against Adil Shah, not so much on religious grounds, as because Ameer Bereed wished to possess himself of Bijapur, in which case he would become too dangerous a rival. By way of concession, Adil Shah sent orders to restore the Sunnee rites, and

then all cause of quarrel being removed, the allies broke up their confederation and retired each to his own dominions. Ameer Bereed was thus left alone, and Adil Shah promptly seized the opportunity to surprise his camp, in which he was so successful, that Ameer Bereed just managed to escape with the Sultan of Bieder and a few followers. The whole war only lasted three months, and Adil Shah returned in triumph to Bijapur and quietly continued the practice of the new faith without further opposition.

Although the rest of Adil Shah's reign was quiet as far as his own countrymen was concerned, he was brought into contact with another power which was but the pioneer of the present rulers of India. In 1498 on the 26th August, Vasco de Gama sighted Mount Dely, in South Kanara, and effected a landing on the island of Anjidiv. Subsequently, they landed on the mainland, near the mouth of the Kalinadi. Adil Shah—or Sabayo—as he is called by the Portuguese writers, sent an expedition against the foreign invaders, which, however, was destroyed. The leader of this expedition, a Mahomedan Jew, was taken captive and brought by Vasco de Gama to Europe, where he was converted and received the name of Gasper de Gama. In 1503 Vasco de Gama returned, and effected a treaty with the Honavar Chief, then a subject of Vijayanagar. From this time each year saw a fresh arrival of the Portuguese ships. Ferishta says that in 1509 they surprised and took Goa, but were afterwards driven out by an army sent by Adil Shah. The Portuguese writers are silent regarding this, though they speak of a victory gained over sixty sail despatched against them in 1506 by Adil Shah and commanded by a Portuguese renegade named Abdullah.

In the midst of this continued fighting on the Western Coast, Yusuf Adil Shah died at Bijapur of a dropsical complaint (1510), and was succeeded by his son, Ismael Adil Shah, a boy of about 14 years of age.

Character.

Yusuf Adil Shah ranks high in the Deccan, not only as a soldier but also as a statesman. Like Hassan Gangu, the founder of the Bahmanee dynasty, he was just, humane and tolerant, but enjoyed the additional advantage to be gained from being highly educated. He wrote elegantly, and was not only a good judge of verses, but himself a poet and *improvisatore*, singing his own verses to his own music. We read of none of the acts of bigotry and cruelty which disgrace the memories of so many of the Deccan Kings. Even his change of faith, so calculated to excite fanatacism and bloodshed, was carried out with such tolerance and moderation, as to excite no opposition among his subjects. He was a patron of art and literature, and especially that of Persia, and numbers of learned and scientific men found their way to his Court. He spent his money liberally on buildings and public works, an example which was followed by his successors, so that his dynasty, with the exception of that of the Kutb Shahs of Golconda, has left nobler memorials of the building art than any other in the Deccan. Lastly, his private character was eminently temperate and virtuous. He was the husband of one wife, a Hindoo, the daughter of a Mahratta chieftain, by whom he had one son and three daughters. The lady is said to have been not only of great beauty, but of singular ability, and we shall have a proof of her strength of mind when we come to the history of the next reign. The title bestowed upon her after having embraced Islam was Booboojee Khanum. The three daughters were subsequently married to the three Sultans of Berar, Ahmednugger, and Bieder (Bahmanee), so that family ties joined the Mahomedan kingdoms closely together. Adil Shah was seventy-five years of age when he died, and Ferishta says of him that he was "handsome in person, eloquent of speech, and eminent for his learning, liberality, and valour."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NIZAM SHAHS OF AHMEDNAGAR.

THE father of the first Nizam Shah was a Brahmin, who was taken prisoner in one of the wars of Ahmed Shah Bahmanee, made a Mussulman, and educated as a royal slave under the name of Malick Hoossein. He was a lad of considerable ability, and being educated together with the Sultan's eldest son, Mahomed, acquired a considerable knowledge of Persian and Arabic. When Mahomed ascended the throne (1462) Malick Hoossein was promoted to the rank of one thousand, and placed in charge of the royal falconry, from which he derived the name of Beheree (*Beher* meaning a falcon). He was subsequently made Governor of the Telingana provinces, and after Khajeh Gawan's death, succeeded him in office with the title of Malick Naib. Under Sultan Mahomed he was the Prime Minister, and received the

additional title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Whilst the father was thus employed in the capital, he sent his son, Malick Ahmed, to the Konkan, where he carried on a very successful war against the hill Chieftains, reducing a number of forts, gaining a considerable amount of treasure (especially at Seer), and eventually reducing the whole country as far as the coast. In 1486, Nizam-ul-Mulk rebelled, and after having seized the city of Ahmedabad Bieder, was eventually assassinated, as related in the account of the reign of Mahomed Shah. The son, who was on the way to join his father, at once retired to Khiber, where he assumed the titles of the deceased, and was generally known as Ahmed Nizam-ul-Mulk Beheree, to which, although he did not as yet assume it, the people added the title of Shah. Khiber was situated in the hills not far from the town of Junar, which, for some time, was the seat of Government of the new Sultan. Ahmed Nizam Shah, as we shall call him, although he actually claimed the title a few years subsequently, was an able and gallant soldier, and some of his sudden raids resemble those of that prince of robbers, the Mahratta Sivajee. Kassim Bereed was now the moving power at Bieder, and he sent an army under Nadir-ul-Humán to reduce this new rebel. After some fighting, this army was completely defeated, and its General slain, whereupon a larger force under eighteen of the principal noblemen was sent to reduce Ahmed to subjection. Ahmed Shah, however, by a clever stratagem, managed to elude this army, and getting into its rear with a picked force of three thousand cavalry, made a sudden attack upon the capital (Bieder). Here he was admitted by the guards, and for a day remained in possession of the city. He appears to have behaved with considerable moderation, releasing only the members of his father's family, but at the same carrying off the wives and families of the noblemen who had been sent against him, whom as hostages he treated with all honour.

Stung by this daring escapade, the Bieder Sultan removed the General in command of his army, and appointed in his place Jehangir Khan, the Governor of Telingana, who had a considerable reputation for bravery and ability. Ahmed Shah, vastly outnumbered, now retired into the hills of the Konkan, whither he was followed by Jehangir Khan, who for a space of a month blockaded him. On the rains setting in, Jehangir Khan, thinking himself safe, relaxed a good deal of his discipline, with the result that one night Ahmed Shah surprised his camp and finding the army in a state of intoxication, put the whole, including the General, to the sword. On the site where this victory was won, Ahmed Shah laid out a garden and built a magnificent palace, which he called Bagh Nizam. This was in 1489, and from this date, acting under the advice of Adil Shah, of Bijapur, whose policy it was to weaken the power of Bieder as much as possible, he commenced reading the *Khutba* in his own name, and assumed the White Umbrella as a sign of royalty. This assertion of independence, however, offended some of his nobles, whereupon the Sultan replied that he had assumed the umbrella, not as a sign of royalty, but in order to shelter himself from the sun. The nobles then withdrew their objection on condition that he would allow his subjects to do the same. "As he could not well refuse," says Ferishta, "permission was given; and from that time to this, in his country the King and the beggar carry it over their heads; but to distinguish the Sultan from his subjects, the royal umbrella has a piece of red upon it, while the others are all white. This custom spread throughout all Deccan, contrary to that in the Moghul Empire, where no one but the sovereign dare use an umbrella." *

In 1493 Ahmed Shah resolved upon the reduction of Dowlatabad, which for some time had been in possession of

* Scott translating Ferishta in 1794 adds a note to this effect: "This is the case at present, except in the English dominions."

two brothers, to one of whom, Malick Wojah, his sister, was married. On a child being born, the other brother Malick Ashruff, afraid that he would be removed, assassinated both brother and nephew, in consequence of which the wife sought the protection of her brother Ahmed Shah. The Sultan thereupon advanced to besiege Dowlatabad, but on his way gave assistance to Cassim Bereed at Bieder, who was then besieged by Adil Shah. The policy of the Deccan Kings was to maintain the balance of power, and so we continually find them taking first one side and then the other, so as to prevent any of their rivals from becoming too powerful. After raising the siege of Bieder, Ahmed Shah advanced upon Dowlatabad, but found it too strong to be taken by assault. Accordingly he resolved to build himself a city nearer the fort, and by continuing a constant state of siege, and by devastating the country around, to compel the garrison to capitulate. This led to the building of a city about half way between Juna and Dowlatabad, situated on the banks of the River Seer. This city is said to have been completed in two years' time, when, according to Ferishta, it "rivalled in splendour Bagdad and Cairo." Calling it after his own name, the new City was called Ahmednagar. From this time the siege of Dowlatabad continued for more than seven years, interrupted occasionally by other small undertakings, and the fort was not finally taken until 1449 or 1500, when, upon the death of Malick Ashruff, the keys were surrendered to Ahmed Shah. From this time Dowlatabad continued in the possession of the Ahmednagar Kings. The remainder of Ahmed Shah's reign was a comparatively peaceful one, and he employed it in improving the condition of the country. In 1508 he died, leaving a son seven years of age, to whom he made his nobles take an oath of allegiance.

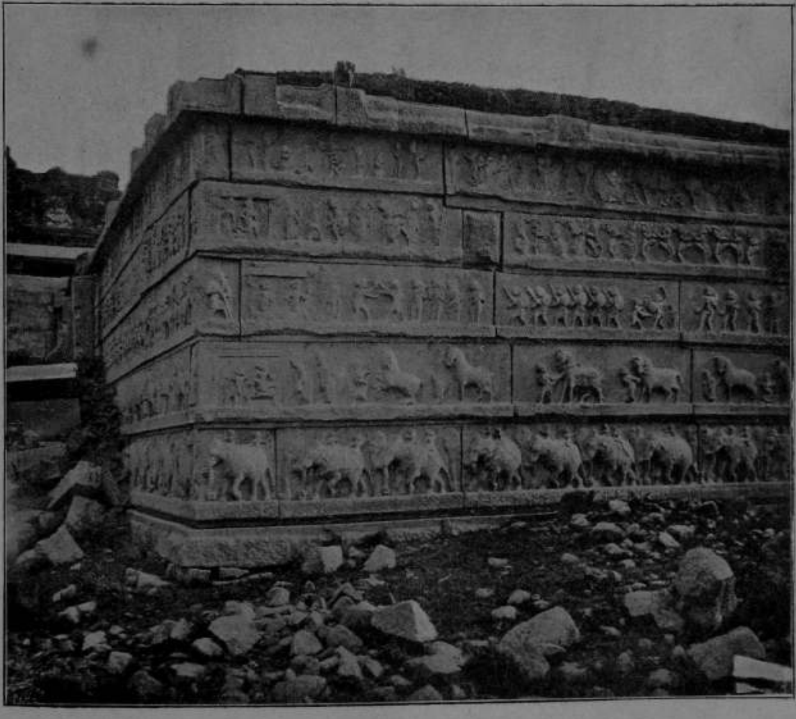
Ahmed Shah has left a reputation not only for singular ability, but also for great virtue and self-control. It is related

Character.

of him that when he rode through the city "he never looked to the right or the left, lest his eyes might fall upon another man's wife." Upon one occasion when a young man, he had captured the fort of Kaweel, and among the captives was a young lady of extraordinary beauty with whom he fell desperately in love. Upon being told, however, that she had a husband who was also a prisoner, he not only restored her to him unmolested, but dismissed them both with valuable presents. Towards his officers he was generous and forgiving. Instead of dismissing a man after failure, he stimulated him to further efforts, giving him another chance to retrieve his character, and in this way enjoyed the strong attachment of all his nobles. Ferishta says that the custom of duelling was introduced by this Sultan, who, when young men came before him with mutual complaints, ordered them to fight the quarrel out in his presence, deciding in favour of the one who first wounded his adversary. In consequence of this encouragement, a crowd of young men attended the hall of audience each day, hoping to win fame and distinction in the Sultan's presence, until at last matters came to such a pass that every day two or three combatants were killed. At length the Sultan, disgusted at so much slaughter, ordered that all such combats should take place, not in his presence, but on a plain outside the city. Regulations for such duels were laid down, bystanders and relations were not allowed to interfere, and all blood feuds in consequence of the death of one of the combatants was strictly prohibited. This custom of duelling found great favour in the Deccan, and spread throughout the country where all noblemen were especially skilled in the use of the sword. Ferishta speaks of having been an eyewitness to such a duel in which six grey-bearded men were killed in the streets of Bijapur. He speaks of the custom as an "abominable" one, and trusts that under "the auspices of wise and just

princes, it may be altogether done away with, so that this country resembling paradise may be purified from such abomination."

It is now time to revert to Bijapur, where about the same time the first King, Yusuf Adil Shah had died, also leaving a minor son, whose fortunes we will for the present follow.



THE GRAND STAND VIJAYANAGAR RUINS.

CHAPTER XV.

BIJAPUR FROM 1509—1534. ISMAEL ADIL SHAH.

THE exact age of Ismael Adil Shah, when his father died is not given, but he appears to have been about 13 or 14 years old. The late King on his death-bed had appointed one of his most trusted nobles as Ismael's Guardian and Regent, and had made the other Amras swear to obey him. For some time Kamil Khan—for this was the Regent's name—governed well and wisely. He lived on terms of friendship with the other Mahomedan Kings, and appears to have gained considerable popularity amongst the nobles as well as the people. The Portuguese were confirmed in the possession of Goa, and a treaty was drawn up with them, which was faithfully observed on both sides. As times went on, however,

and the period approached when the young King would attain his majority, Kamil Khan, attracted by the sweets of power, began to entertain the ambition of usurping the throne. With this object in view, he from time to time distributed amongst his own relations and adherents the estates of those noblemen who died, or who were convicted of crimes. With the examples of Narasimha, in Vijayanagar, and Cassim Bereed, in Bieder, before him, he resolved upon founding a new dynasty. Accordingly, he formed an alliance with Ameer Bereed, and after having confined the young Sultan and his mother, Boobajee Khanum, in the citadel, he marched with an army against Sholapore, which he reduced after a siege of three months, and then returned to Bijapur to finish his work of usurpation. He first of all banished all persons who were adherents of the late King, and then raised a large force with which he held the command of the city. All preparations being made, Kamil Khan, consulted the astrologers as to which would be the best day to depose the young King. The astrologers gave as their opinion that for the next few days the combinations of the stars were against Kamil Khan, and that, therefore, it would be advisable to wait. Accordingly, the first of the next month was fixed for the revolution, and in the meantime Kamil Khan shut himself up in the citadel so as to escape the danger threatened by the adverse conjunction of the planets. The Queen-mother, however, had been informed of what was contemplated, and resolved to seize the opportunity of this temporary seclusion to strike the first blow. Accordingly, she applied to Yusuf Turk, the foster-father of her son, and asked him to help her. Yusuf replied that he was an old man, and that his life was at her service. The Queen thereupon told a female attendant to go and make enquiries regarding Kamil Khan's health, and just as she was leaving for the purpose, added, as an after-thought, that she should take Yusuf Turk with her, as he was anxious to obtain

permission to go to Mecca. The woman accordingly went, and after having delivered the Queen's message and present, introduced Yusuf to Kamil Khan. The Regent at once gave Yusuf the required permission, and as he held out to him the betel leaf as a sign that he might go, Yusuf pulled out a dagger which he had concealed under his cloth and plunged it into Kamil Khan's body. Yusuf and the female attendant were at once cut down, but it was too late, and the would-be usurper had met his deserved fate. As soon as the news of this murder was spread abroad, an immense commotion arose. The Queen closed the gates of the royal palace, and though Sufder Khan, the son of the late Regent, at once attacked the palace with the object of getting possession of the young Sultan, he found it obstinately defended. The citadel and the royal palace were situated in the same enclosure, and Sufder Khan, keeping the citadel gates shut against the city, endeavoured to take the palace by storm, so that there was a bloody struggle taking place inside the citadel walls, whilst outside the citizens were assembled in a state of excitement. The Queen had only a few adherents, but the guards made common cause with her, and defended the palace most obstinately. Whilst the fight was going on, a party of Deccanee matchlock men managed to climb the wall and afford relief to the Queen and her party. The Queen and the Sultan's foster-aunt, Dilshad Aga, the latter with a veil over her head, animated and encouraged the defenders by their presence and promises. Sufder Khan now brought up cannon, with which he managed to break down the gate, but as he was on the point of entering, the gallant Dilshad fired a volley of arrows and gun shot into his party. One of these arrows wounded Sufder Khan in the eye, and in order to recover himself he took refuge under a wall. It so happened, however, that the young King was seated on the wall just above the place, and, seeing his enemy beneath him, he succeeded in rolling over a large

TEMPLE VIJAYANAGAR.

stone, which, hitting Sufder Khan on the head, killed him on the spot. As soon as their leader had fallen, his troops took to their heels. The city was then cleared of the rebels, and the mutiny was at an end, thanks to the bravery of the Queen and Dilshad Aga, and to the ready wittedness of the young Sultan. When everything was quiet, the young Sultan went to the mosque to return thanks for his escape, and then conducted the funeral procession of his foster-father Yusuf to the tomb of a saint outside the city, by whose side he was buried, and eventually a dome was raised over the graves of both. During the rest of his reign, the Sultan went once a month to visit the tomb of the faithful Yusuf (1511-12).

Ismael Shah was now about seventeen years of age, and no opposition was made to him on the score of age. Ameer Bereed, on hearing of the failure of the plot, at once raised the siege of Gulburga, which he had attacked, and retired to Bieder. The Vijayanagar King who had made an attack upon Raichore pressed the siege and succeeded in taking the fort, which during previous hundred years must have changed masters fifteen or twenty times. Ferishta still calls the Vijayanagar King Heem Raja, but this is clearly a mistake, as Heem Raja, or rather Narasimha, had been succeeded in 1508 by his brother Krishna Deva Raja. This capture of Raichore was one of Krishna Deva's first exploits, and only a prelude to a long career of victory.

Ameer Bereed, repulsed from Gulburga, called upon the Kings of Ahmednagar, Berar, and Golconda to come to his assistance, and after some delay succeeded in collecting a large army, with which he advanced to besiege Bijapur. Ismael Shah met this army a short distance from his capital, and though only at the head of twelve thousand horse, he attacked with such vigour that he put the whole force to flight, and took the Sultan of Bieder, together with his son Ahmed prisoners. The whole of the camp and baggage fell

into the hands of the conquerors, and Ismael returned to his capital in triumph The two royal prisoners were treated with the greatest courtesy. Splendid presents were made to them, and Sultan Mahomed asked for Ismael's sister as the wife of his son (Ahmed). The espousals having been celebrated, the two Sultans went together to Gulburga for the marriage ceremony, which was carried out with much magnificence. As a guard of honour, Ismael sent a troop of five thousand horse to conduct the newly-married pair, and Sultan Mahomed to Bieder, and Ameer Bereed was so alarmed at the approach of this force that he made haste to evacuate the city. For a short time Sultan Ahmed was therefore freed from the tyranny of his Minister, but as soon as the Bijapur troops had taken their departure, Ameer Bereed returned, and the Sultan reverted to his former state of subjection. A few years of peace followed, one of the most important events of which was the reception by Ismael Shah of an embassy from the Persian monarch, despatched on purpose to thank him for an act of courtesy shown to an ambassador, who a few years before had been detained at Bieder. This embassy arrived in 1519, and was met by Ismael Shah twelve miles outside the capital. The King of Persia in his letter addressed the Sultan as a Sovereign Prince, and Ismael was so pleased with this recognition that he ordered in future on Fridays and holidays prayers should be recited in all the mosques for the royal family of Persia.

In the following year (1520), Ismael attempted to carry out his long-intended project of recovering the forts of Raichore and Mudkul. For this purpose he assembled an army of more than fifty thousand horse and foot, and encamped on the banks of the Kistna. The river, however, was in flood, and the enemy was in command of all the ferries. Instead of waiting for a favourable opportunity, Ismael one evening when fired by wine gave orders to force a passage by means

of rafts. Heedless of the remonstrances of his officers, Ismael plunged his own elephant into the river and succeeded in crossing with about two thousand men. Here he was attacked by the whole of the Hindoo army, and though the Sultan and his army fought with the utmost bravery, the whole were either cut to pieces or drowned, with the exception of the Sultan and seven soldiers. After this repulse Ismael had to give up all further thought of vengeance for the present, and retired to Bijapur after having sworn an oath never to indulge in wine until this defeat should be revenged.

In 1523 an alliance was made between Boorahan Nizam Shah and Ismael, and the sister of the latter was given to the former in marriage. This marriage instead of cementing the alliance between the two Kings, unfortunately led to another war, for Ismael had promised to give the fort of Sholapore as dowry with his sister. This promise he neglected to keep, and so Nizam Shah, calling in the assistance of the Berar Sultan and of Ameer Bereed, who was always ready to join any one of the Deccan Kings against another, advanced with an army to take it by force. This time, Ismael Shah was more successful, and after having put the allied camp into disorder by a night surprise, he attacked early on the following morning, and defeated the enemy with great slaughter, taking all his elephants and baggage. This concluded the war, and the Sultan returned in triumph to Bijapur.

In 1528, Nizam Shah and Ameer Bereed attempted another invasion of Bijapur, but were again defeated with great loss, and Ismael then formed an alliance with the Berar Sultan, to whom he gave his remaining sister in marriage.

In the following year, we find that Ismael Shah sent a large supply of money, together with six thousand horse, to assist Nizam Shah against an invasion of the Sultan of Guzerat. The invasion was repelled, but Ameer Bereed, who had also joined Nizam Shah, endeavouring to corrupt Ismael's

troops before their return, Sultan Ismael resolved to put an end to this restless old intriguer's plots. Binding over Nizam Shah to neutrality, he accordingly assembled an army of ten thousand cavalry, and laid siege to Bieder. Ameer Bereed at once fled with the object of bringing assistance from Golconda. After some delay a reinforcement of four thousand Telinganas arrived, and attacked Ismael's force at the same time as the garrison made a sally. Both attacks were, however, beaten off with great loss, and the city was still more closely invested. Imad Shah, the Sultan of Berar now attempted to conciliate Ismael, and visiting him in his camp, asked him to forgive Ameer Bereed. The Sultan, however, replied that Bereed had done him and his family more injuries than could be enumerated—which was quite true—and refused to make any terms. Upon this Imad Shah retired to Oodgir, where he was joined by Bereed. Ismael Shah hearing that his enemy had joined Imad Shah resolved upon surprising him, and despatched Assud Khan, who throughout all these wars had taken a most distinguished part, with a body of two thousand picked horse. Assud Khan reached Bereed's camp at the conclusion of a big banquet. All the guards and sentinels were asleep amidst their broken wine pots, and Bereed himself was so hopelessly intoxicated, that he was carried in a state of insensibility, tied to his bed, and did not recover consciousness, until he was a long way on the road to Bieder. Bereed at first thought that he had been carried away by evil spirits, but on being told of the real state of things, was overcome with shame.

On the morning after the arrival of the surprise party in Ismael Shah's camp, Ameer Bereed, now a man of a very advanced age, was placed before Ismael Shah with his hands tied behind his back. After he had stood in this way for two hours in the sun, the Sultan ordered him to be put to death, and an executioner advanced for this purpose. Bereed

then begged that his life might be spared, and offered if this were done to persuade his sons to hand over the fort and citadel of Bieder. The sons, on being called upon, replied that their father's life was of but little more worth, since in the ordinary course of nature he must die soon. Ismael, thinking that this was merely a ruse in order to gain time, ordered Bereed to be put to death, but consented to have him placed in such a position that the sons could see the extremity to which he was reduced. This had the desired effect, and the sons now offered to give up the fort on condition only that they and their women should be allowed to depart with the clothes on their persons without search. In this manner, they managed to carry off a considerable portion of the royal robes and jewels, and with them retired unmolested to Oodgir.

Ismael Shah, who had been joined by Imad Shah of Berar, now entered the city with great pomp, and seated himself on the royal *musnud* of the Bahmanees. Of the real representative of this ancient house, we hear nothing, he had probably been taken away with the Bereeds. An immense amount of treasure and jewels were found in the fort, of which Ismael Shah would not take any portion, but distributed it amongst his followers and the Berar Sultan. It is narrated that he told the poet Molana Seyd Kumi that he might take as much from the treasury as he could lift with both hands. The poet replied that as he had grown old and weak in the Shah's service he should be allowed two attempts. This was granted, and the poet then said that he should like to wait until he had quite recovered his strength. The Sultan then quoted a verse to the effect:—"There is danger in delay, and it hurts the petitioner," thereupon the poet made shift to carry as much as he could. Nor was he entirely unsuccessful, for we are told that at each attempt he carried away bags containing 25,000 gold *oons*, equal to about £10,000.

At Imad Shah's intercession, Ismael now pardoned Ameer Bereed, and gave him the Government of Kalean and Oodgir, but made him swear fealty to him and also to accompany him with three thousand horse on an expedition to recover Raichur. This expedition proved successful, and Raichur was re-taken after a siege of three months, it having been for seventeen years in the possession of the Hindoos. It will be remembered that, on a previous occasion, when he had been defeated, Ismael Shah had sworn to refrain from wine until he should have revenged the defeat. This having been accomplished, he held a grand banquet, at which Imad Shah, Ameer Bereed, and his Commander-in-Chief, Assud Khan, were present. Fifteen hundred captives were taken, and Ameer Bereed was again granted the Government of Ahmedabad and Bieder, on condition, however, that he would surrender Kalean and Candahar. After this, Imad Shah and Ameer Bereed were allowed to return to their respective countries.

Once at liberty, the wily old intriguer Bereed forgot to fulfil the promise he had made of surrendering the two forts, and entered into an alliance with Boorahan Shah of Ahmednagar (1531). The result was another campaign in which Boorahan Shah was defeated. An alliance was then formed between the two Sultans, one of two conditions of which was that Ismael Shah was to be at liberty to conquer what he could of the Kutb Shadi dominions, and Boorahan Shah was to add (if he could) Berar to his kingdom. In consequence of this agreement, Ismael Shah, who was now joined by Ameer Bereed, laid siege to Koilconda, one of the Kutb Shahi's forts (1533). Before, however this fort could be taken, Ismael Shah fell ill and died on the way to Gulburga (1534). Assud Khan at once raised the siege, and returned with the body of the deceased king and his two sons to Bijapur, where, after burying his master near his father, Yusuf Adil Shah, he installed the eldest of the young princes on the throne.

Character.

Ismael Adil Shah was prudent, patient, and generous. He was more inclined to forgive than to punish, and his clemency was sometimes taken advantage of. He had artistic tastes, and was skilled in poetry and music. He was also very fond of painting and of making arrows and saddle cloths. He was quick at repartee, and had a large stock of quotations, which he made in an apt and appropriate manner. In manners, he was more polished than the Decannees, and had been early trained in the Turkish and Persian habits and customs. Although he did not make much head against the Hindoos, he was acknowledged as the principal of the Mahomedan kings of the Deccan, and though jealous of his power and often combining to oppose him, they seem to have admitted his superiority. His reign lasted for twenty-five years.

GENEALOGY OF THE BEREED DYNASTY.

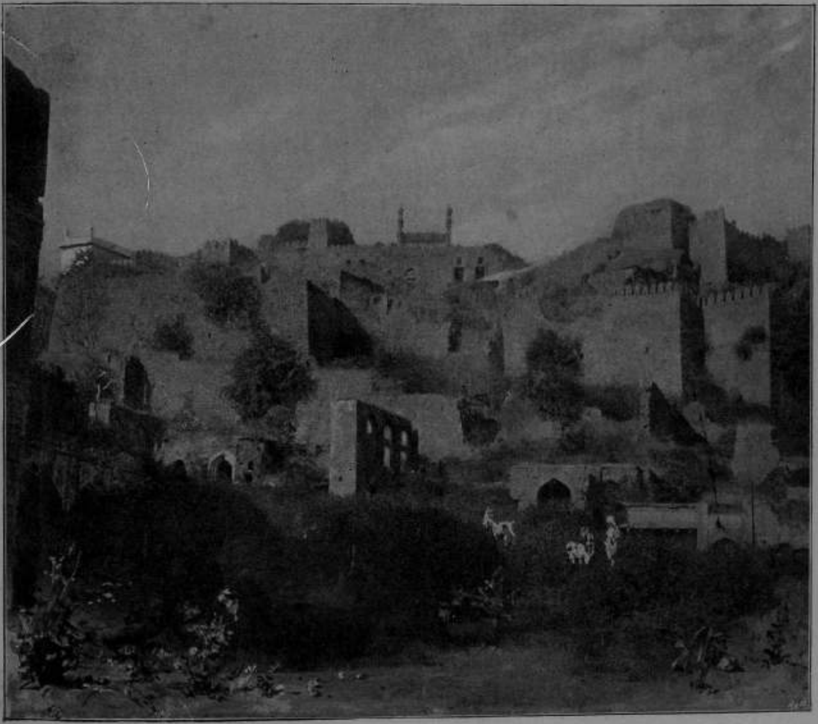
[Usurpers of the Bahmani Kingdom].

(BIEDER).

1.	KASIM BEREED.	1492—1504
2.	AMIR BEREED (son)	1504—1549
3.	ALI BEREED SHAH (son)	1549—1562
4.	IBRAHIM BEREED (son)	1562—1569
5.	KASIM BEREED (brother)	1569—1572
6.	MIRZA ALI BEREED (son)	1572—1609
7.	ALI BEREED	1609

After No. 7. BIEDER was incorporated with Bijapur.

(NOTE. KASIM BEREED was originally a Georgian Slave but rose to be minister of MAHMUD BAHMANI, during whose reign the other Deccan Kingdoms revolted. KASIM kept the king MAHMUD II a prisoner and virtually ruled till his death in 1504. His son AMIR continued to reign under three other puppet kings until 1527 when the last king KATAM ULLAH fled to Ahmednagar when AMIR assumed royalty. ISMAIL ADIL SHAH conquered BIEDER and restored it to AMIR BEREED as his vassal. AMIR died in 1549 having lost almost all his territory and his son assumed the title of Shah).



CHAPTER XVI.

THE KINGDOMS OF BERAR AND GOLCONDA AND CONTINUATION OF BIJAPUR.

It is necessary now to glance backwards in order to trace the foundations of the two kingdoms of Berar and Golconda which have already been frequently mentioned in the previous chapter.

Berar was the smallest and least important of the Mahomedan kingdoms of the Deccan, and its independence was the most short-lived. Like his rival king in Ahmednagar, the

founder of the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar was a Hindoo by descent. He is said te have been a Canarese Brahmin taken in war by the Bahmanee Governor of Berar. He adopted Islam, and rapidly rose to high office, receiving the title of Imád-ul-Mulk. He asserted his independence about the same time as Yusuf Adil Shah (1484), and in the partition of 1498 he was recognised by the other kings, and received as his share Mahar and Ramgarh, or the territory between the Godavery and the Pain Gunga rivers. The first Imad Shah died early in the 16th century, and was succeeded by his son, Alla-ud-din, who was on the throne throughout the whole of the reign of Ismael Adil Shah, as related in the last chapter. This prince was constantly at war with Ahmednagar, and generally got the worst of it. He lost his outlying districts of Mahar and Pathri, and had to call in the Sultan of Guzerat, whom he afterwards found it very difficult to get rid of. His dominions comprised the province of Berar as nearly as possible as it exists at the present day, lying between the Rivers Taptee on the north and Godavery on the south. The present southern boundary of the province is the river Pain Gunga. The capital was at Ellichpore, and with the exception of this city there were few other towns of importance. The people were quiet and devoted to agriculture, and as the province lies out of the line of march of the great kingdoms, it had enjoyed a long period of peace. It formed a sort of irregular square comprising an area of about 20,000 square miles. Sultan Alla-ud-din was succeeded by his son, Daria Imad Shah (1550), and he in turn was succeeded (1568) by his infant son, Burhan Imad Shah. The infant king was confined by his Minister, Tufal Khan, who usurped the Government. He was, however, attacked by the Kings of Bijapur and Ahmednagar, defeated, and after some time spent in flight, was put to death together with the young prince whom he had dethroned (1572). From this time Berar was

annexed to Ahmednagar, to which kingdom it belonged, until it in turn was conquered by an army from Delhi in 1607. This brief summary of the history of Berar must suffice for the present, and further notice of any events of importance will be made as they have reference to the general thread of the story.

A kingdom that was destined to play a much more important and lasting part in Indian history was that of Golconda, which, under a different dynasty and another name exists unto the present day. During the time of the Bahmanee Sultans, Golconda was the capital of the Governor of the Telingana provinces, and his rule extended to the eastern coast with ports at Musalipatam and Coconada. The Hindoo Kings of Warangal had disappeared, but a number of petty chiefs survived. These Chiefs were continually breaking out into rebellion, and gave the Mahomedan Governor a good deal of trouble. The Telingana province was therefore one of considerable importance, and the Governor was an officer of high dignity.

Golconda.

The founder of this new kingdom was Barra Malick Kull Kutb-ul-Mulk, a Persian by descent, who entered the service of Sultan Mahmoud Bahmanee towards the close of the 15th century. When in 1490 an attempt was made to assassinate Sultan Mahmoud, Barra, Malick was one of those who saved the King, and eventually quelled the rebellion. For this he was created Ghazi Malick Kutb-ul-Mulk, and sent as Governor to Telingana. When in 1489 the other Deccan Sultan threw off all semblance of submission to the Bahmanee house, Kuli Kutb-ul-Mulk still remained loyal, and it was not until 1510 that he finally declared his independence.

His first thought was to strengthen the fortifications of his capital Golconda, and to improve its buildings. The fort as it now exists shows signs of great strength, and 170 years later it baffled the whole of Aurungzebe's army, and was

only won by treachery. In the middle of the fort is a hill, from the top of which the country is visible for miles around. The King's palace and most of the houses in the interior of the fort are now in ruins, but the walls are still intact, and seen from the outside, the whole has a very gloomy appearance, as the high walls frown down on the waters of the lake which washes the northern portion of the fort.

The first campaign of the new Sultan was an unprovoked one, against Krishna Deva Raya, of Vijayanagar. After a great battle near Pangal, in which the Hindoos were worsted, the Sultan succeeded in capturing the two forts of Kovilconda and Ganpoora, and then returned with a considerable amount of plunder. In the following year, the Rajah of Khammamett broke into rebellion, and on being defeated managed to make his escape and organized a confederation of all the Hindoo Rajahs. A number of actions ensued, in which the Mahomedans were successful, and at last a treaty was signed, in which the River Godavery was made the northern boundary. No sooner had peace been restored in the north, than war broke out again in the south. Sultan Ismael, of Bijapur, instigated by the King of Vijayanagar, laid siege to Kovilconda. Kutb Shah advanced to its relief, and during an engagement that followed, received a sword cut in the face which disfigured him for life, part of the nose and cheek being cut off. It was whilst this siege was in progress that Sultan Ismael Shah was taken ill and died, and Assud Khan, (his minister and general in chief) deeming that a settlement of the succession was of more importance than the capture of the fort, raised the siege, and retired to Gulburga, after making peace with Kutb Shah. This Sultan continued to reign for eleven years longer, and during almost the whole of that time he was occupied in quelling the rebellions of the Hindoo Chiefs. Under Krishna Deva Raya, the Vijayanagar kingdom was gradually spreading in extent, and Kutb Shah

found himself being cut off from communication with the seashore. He does not seem to have held much land south of the Kistna, and the Vijayanagar influence rapidly extended along the coast, until it predominated as far north as the Godavery. In 1543 Kuli Kutb Shah was assassinated whilst saying his prayers in the mosque at Golconda, in consequence of a plot organized by his son, Jamshid Kuli who succeeded him. This first Golconda Sultan had ruled in the Telingana Province for sixty years, during sixteen of which he had been a Governor, and forty-four an independent prince. He was ninety years of age when he died.

As we have now brought the string of events down to the death of Ismael Adil Shah, it will be as well to revert to the Bijapur Province, round which for the next forty years the principal interest centres.

We have already told how Assud Khan considered it advisable to raise the siege of Kovilconda, and return with the dead body of the late Sultan and the two young princes to Gulburga. The names of those two princes were Mulloo and Ibrahim. The former was the eldest, and had been designated as his successor by the dying Sultan. He was, however, a passionate, licentious young man, and there was a general feeling against making him Sultan, but Assud Khan thought himself to be bound in duty to carry out his master's last commands. Assud Khan was now the most prominent man in the kingdom. On frequent occasions he had during the reign of Ismael Adil Shah given instances of his military talents and devoted bravery. He now, and during the rest of his life, showed himself to be a statesman, not only of ability, but also of integrity. During the march to Gulburga, he kept both the young princes in a kind of honourable confinement, and prevented them from having access to one another, or to the rest of the army, for he was afraid that intrigues would be set on foot. Arrived at Gulburga, a consultation was held

with the ladies of the harem and the Chief nobility, and it was decided to follow the wishes of the late Sultan and place the eldest son, Mulloo, on the throne. This was done, but it soon became apparent that the apprehensions of Assud Khan were amply justified. The young King showed himself to be thoroughly vicious, and gave himself up to reckless debauchery. Disgusted at his conduct, Assud Khan retired with his family to his Jaghir of Belgaum, and left Sultan Mulloo to his own devices. Before six months were passed, the young tyrant had made himself thoroughly hated, and had alienated from him all the adherents of his house. The crisis was brought by his sending to Yusuf Turk, a nobleman of high rank, to demand his son for the satisfaction of his unnatural lust. On this demand being treated with contempt, the King sent a body of followers with orders to bring the father's head. These men were beaten off, and Yusuf Turk retired with his family to his estates in a state of righteous indignation. The Sultan's grandmother, Booboojee Khanum, who, in the former reign had shown herself to be so capable of action, now made up her mind that the young Sultan must be deposed. Accordingly, she wrote to Yusuf Turk to give his assistance, which, after consulting Assud Khan, and obtaining his co-operation, he promised to do. On an appointed day, Yusuf Khan suddenly entered the capital with a large force. He met with little or no opposition, and Mulloo was at once seized, together with his youngest brother. They were both blinded, and the second brother, Ibrahim, was then proclaimed amidst universal rejoicing. This short reign, so full of infamy and disgrace, lasted only six months.

Sultan Ibrahim Abdil Shah (1535).

The new Sultan's first act was to change the State religion from the *Sheeah* to the *Sunnee* creed, and his next was to dismiss all the foreigners such as Turks, Persians, Moguls, &c., in his service, with the exception of 400 men, whom he retained

as a special guard. In their place he enlisted Deccanees and Abyssinians. The latter race never seem to have been reckoned as foreigners, and throughout Deccan history we always find them making common cause with the Deccanees. Under the latter name it must not be supposed that the Hindoos of the Deccan were included. The appellation is used exclusively with reference to the descendants of the first Mahomedan or Afghan families that had accompanied Sultan Alla-ud-Din to the Deccan. This summary dismissal was by no means a wise step, for the men thus sent away formed some of the best fighting material of the Bijapur army. Rama Rajah of Vijayanagar at once enrolled them in his service, and not only gave them great indulgences, but allowed them to build a mosque in his city. He also had a copy of the *Koran* placed before his throne, so that when his Mahomedan servants came to pay their respects, they could do so without a breach of the rules of their own religion. In this way he succeeded in collecting a well-disciplined force of three thousand Mahomedans, which proved of considerable use to him.

Soon after Ibrahim Shah's accession, a revolution broke out in Vijayanagar which led to the Sultan's interference in the affairs of that kingdom. Rama Rajah the son of Krishna Deva Raya, had succeeded to the throne in 1530, and being a descendant of the usurping dynasty, strengthened his position by marrying a daughter of the old Hari Hara family. Ferishta speaks of the throne being then held by an infant of the original dynasty, and goes on to say that on Rama Rajah endeavouring to put this family entirely aside, a revolution broke out amongst the nobility, whereupon Rama Rajah put an infant descended from the female line on the throne, and, leaving him in charge of his own uncle, Hojè Permal Row, went on an expedition against some refractory Rajahs in the Malabar and Madura countries. During his absence a rebellion took place in the capital. Hojè Permal Row was induced to

liberate the young Rajah and place him on the throne. Several other Rajahs then joined the revolution, and for a time Rama Rajah was deprived of power. Before long, Hojè Permal Row had the young King strangled and usurped the throne himself. Finding, however, that he was too weak to hold his own against Rama Rajah, who still kept the field, he invited Ibrahim Shah to come to his assistance, offering him a subsidy of three lakhs of *oons*, (£ 40,000) for each day his army should march. This was an offer which Ibrahim Shah was by no means loth to accept. He marched with a considerable army to Vijayanagar, was there received by Permal Row and entertained for seven days. This alliance with a Mahomedan sovereign, however, excited such dissatisfaction amongst the Hindoo Rajahs that a strong protest was made, and Permal Row, trusting to their promises that if he would dismiss the Sultan they would recognize him as Rajah, paid his new ally fifty lakhs of *oons* (£ 1,700,000) and allowed him to return. No sooner, however, had Ibrahim Shah crossed the Kistna than Rama Rajah and his confederates returned and laid siege to the capital. Permal Row shut himself up in the citadel, and becoming "mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, also cutting off their tails that they might be of no use to the enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, other precious stones and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed to powder between heavy mill stones and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force, that it pierced through, and came out of his back; thus putting an end to his existence just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies" (*Ferishta*). Rama Rajah then became undisputed King of Vijaganagar, and we hear of no other revolts or rival claimants until the final downfall of the kingdom nineteen years later.

Ibrahim Shah took advantage of the confusion in Vijayanagar to send an army under Assud Khan to surprise the important fortress of Adoni. This, however, he was not able to do, as Rama Rajah despatched his brother Venkatadri (or, as Ferishta calls him, Negtaderee) with a force far exceeding his in number. Assud Khan then commenced a retreat, but being harassed closely by the Hindoos, was able to surprise their camp one night, and take the General's family captive. Thereupon negociations were opened, to be followed shortly by a peace, and Assud Khan returned to Bijapur.

Assud Khan was now the principal man in Bijapur, and as always occurs, his power and influence excited considerable envy and jealousy. For some time the Sultan refused to allow his mind to be poisoned with stories against his Minister. After a time, however, they prevailed, and Ibrahim Shah sent for Assud Khan, intending on his arrival to put him to death. The plot, however, had been overheard, and Assud Khan, forewarned, retired to Belgaum, where he was too strong for even the Sultan to attack him. Various intrigues were then set on foot in order to gain possession of the too-powerful Minister, and one Yusuf was granted a jaghir near Belgaum for the express purpose of enabling him to carry out a surprise. This, indeed, he attempted, but was beaten off with disgrace.

A disagreement of this kind was an opportunity which the ever-watchful and jealous neighbouring States were not likely to let pass. Accordingly, giving out that Assud Khan was prepared to join them, Nizam Shah and Ameer Bereed invaded the Bijapur territories, and after investing the Sholapur districts, marched upon Belgaum. Assud Khan was now placed in a very awkward position. The invading princes appear to have used his name without authority, but if he refused to act with them, they were in a position to compel him or to annex his jaghirs. Accordingly, he temporized, and although

he joined the enemy's camp, he wrote to Imad Shah of Berar begging him to come to the assistance of Bijapur. This Imad Shah at once did, when Assud Khan joined him, and represented to him the whole of the circumstances that had brought about this crisis. Imad Shah then took Assud Khan before Ibrahim, who, on being convinced of his loyalty, at once received him with favour. This at once changed the aspect of affairs, and the invaders had to retreat. Ibrahim followed them well into their own territories, and Ameer Bereed, dying on the road, Nizam Shah had to sue for peace. This was granted on condition of restoring the five districts of Sholapore, and promising not to again invade the Bijapur dominions (1542). This peace, however, did not last long, for in the following year Nizam Shah made an alliance with Ali Bereed, who had succeeded his father Ameer, Kutb Shah of Golconda, and Rama Rajah of Vijayanagar. These princes all entered Bijapur territory by three different routes—Nizam Shah by Sholapore, Kutb Shah by Gulburga, and Rama Rajah by the usual bone of contention, Raichore. Ibrahim Shah, at a loss how to meet these three invasions, sent for Assud Khan, whose advice was that Nizam Shah being at the bottom of the confederacy he should be pacified first. Rama Rajah could be bought off by concessions and promises, and then Kutb Shah could be dealt with alone. As Ibrahim was unable to meet the combination in the field, this appears to have been the best advice possible. Nizam Shah professed himself satisfied by the restoration of the Sholapore district, and Rama Rajah was bought off by some small concessions. Assud Khan then marched against Jumsheed Kutb Shah, recovered from him Gulburga and its districts, and then followed him up to the walls of Golconda, within which he compelled him to take shelter after defeating his army and wounding the King in an engagement. Assud Khan then returned to Bijapur, where he was received with

great distinction. In a short time, however, the war broke out afresh, Nizam Shah being again the agressor. This time the attempt was upon Gulburga, but the invading force was met by Ibrahim Shah on the banks of the Bhimrah, and defeated with great loss. Ibrahim Shah fought personally in this battle with great gallantry, but the credit for the victory was due, and was given, to Assud Khan. This victory appears to have turned Ibrahim's head, and he behaved with such arrogance to the ambassadors of Nizam Shah, that they retired in disgust, and the war broke out afresh. This time, fortune was against Ibrahim, and his armies were twice defeated in the space of six months. Ibrahim attributing these defeats to the disaffection of his Hindoo officials, caused a number of them to be put to death, and others to be tortured in the public square. This cruelty excited general disgust. Assud Khan retired to Belgaum, and a conspiracy was formed to depose Ibrahim and place his brother, Abdulla, on the throne. The conspiracy was discovered, and Abdulla went to Goa, where he was sheltered by the Portuguese, and there commenced a correspondence with Nizam Shah and Kutb Shah. An attempt was made to gain Assud Khan over to this conspiracy, but though he was again in disfavour with the suspicious Sultan, this loyal old veteran refused the proposal with indignation. But Assud Khan's name was one to conjure with, so high was the general feeling of affection and confidence. He himself was sick, but the Portuguese, after having proclaimed Abdulla, marched with him towards Bijapur, and giving out that Assud Khan was on their side, induced a number of the disaffected nobles to join their army. Nizam Shah hearing of Assud Khan's illness at once marched upon Belgaum hoping in case of his death to secure this important fortress. On his arrival Assud Khan was somewhat better, and Nizam Shah then attempted to win the garrison by bribery. For this purpose he sent a Brahmin as

his emissary, who had nearly succeeded, when the plot was discovered by Assud Khan, who at once put the Brahmin and seventy of the soldiers he had corrupted to death. This act showed clearly that Assud Khan was still loyal, and on hearing of it, the Bijapur nobles at once forsook Abdulla. The Goanese, disappointed of a junction with Nizam Shah, had now to retire, and Nizam Shah deserted by his allies, had also to return to his country. In the mean time, Assud Khan was really dying. The man who had so often saved the State when alive had rendered it a final service on his death-bed, for if, as had been originally intended, Nizam Shah had effected a junction with the Portuguese, Bijapur must have fallen, and Abdulla been placed upon the throne. The whole incident is especially worthy of record, because it is the first occasion in which we find a European nation taking an active share in the intrigues of a Native State, a policy which has had such successful results in subsequent years. When Assud Khan felt that his end was approaching, he sent a message to his master, Ibrahim, whom he had served so well, but who had so often requited his services with ingratitude. The Sultan at once set off for Belgaum, but arrived too late. All that he could do was to comfort the mourning family with *khilats* and assurances of royal favour, but this comfort must have been of a nature not altogether gratifying, for we are told that the Sultan took the opportunity of annexing all his deceased servant's treasures and estates for his own use.

Assud Khan had for nearly forty years been one of the most prominent characters in the Deccan. He was universally respected not only for his military talents, but also for his judgment and wisdom. He lived with a magnificence that was almost royal, and his household servants alone numbered more than two hundred and fifty persons. In his stables were sixty elephants of the largest, and one hundred and fifty

of a smaller size, besides four hundred Arab and Persian horses, in addition to a number of country-breds. In his kitchen there was consumed each day one hundred maunds (8,000lbs.) of rice, fifty sheep, and one hundred fowls and other provisions in proportion. The treasures and jewels which he left are said to have been of immense value, and in this respect he formed a striking contrast to that other great nobleman, Khajeh Gawan, who, under the Bahmanee Sultans, may well be compared with him.

No sooner was this war terminated than another broke out. In accordance with Assud Khan's last wish, Sultan Ibrahim made an alliance with, and gave his daughter in marriage to, Ali Bereed, of Ahmedabad Bieder. This at once excited the jealousy of Nizam Shah, who thereupon made an alliance with Rama Rajah of Vijayanagar, who recommended him to attack Kallean, a fortress belonging to Bereed. Ibrahim marched to assist his son-in-law, but suffered a severe defeat, and the fort was taken by Nizam Shah. Ibrahim, compelled to retire, made a diversion into the enemy's country towards the west. He devastated a considerable amount of country, and succeeded in surprising Porundeh, a fort which subsequently became very famous as Sivajee's favourite stronghold. Here he left a garrison, which surrendered without a struggle as soon as Nizam Shah advanced to retake this important post. Next year (1551) the war recommenced. As usual, the Vijayanagar army commenced operations by besieging Raichore and Mudkul. The Hindoo Prince then marched to join Nizam Shah, and the two armies took Sholapore without much trouble.

In 1553 Boorahan Nizam Shah died, and his successor, Hoosein Nizam Shah, made peace with Bijapur, which, however, did not last long. Hoosein Shah having degraded his father's Commander-in-Chief, Khajeh Jehan, the latter escaped to Bijapur, together with a younger brother of the Sultan. It did not require much persuasion on the part of these refugees

to induce Ibrahim Shah to support the claims of this pretender, especially as the fort of Sholapore was held out to him as a bait. He at once proclaimed Shah Ali (for this was his name) Sultan of Ahmednagar, and marched with an army to take possession of Sholapore. Here he was met by Hoosein Nizam Shah, and an engagement ensued, in which Ibrahim Shah was worsted. The defeat appears to have occurred through a mistake. His General, Seyf Eyn-ul-Mulk, had in reality broken the enemy's centre, but was left unsupported. Ibrahim Shah being told that he had gone over to the enemy, made a precipitate retreat, leaving his General in the lurch. The latter managed to cut his way through the enemy's ranks, and followed his master, who, however, received him at Bijapur with such disfavour that the General retired to his own estates. Ibrahim sent an army after him but it was defeated, and another and stronger force met with the same fate. Eyn-ul-Mulk now asserted his independence, and so dangerous did matters look, that Ibrahim Shah had to march against him in person with the whole force that he could raise. The Sultan, however, fared no better than his generals, and was severely defeated with the loss of his baggage and royal paraphernalia. Ibrahim himself escaped and fled in haste to Bijapur, which was at once invested by the rebel. In this last extremity, Ibrahim applied to Rama Rajah of Vijayanagar for assistance. The Hindoo King at once complied, and sent his brother Venkatadri with a large army. The Hindoo General, by a clever night attack, succeeded in surprising Eyn-ul-Mulk's camp, and put the whole of the army to the sword, the rebel himself just managing to escape with two hundred followers. Eyn-ul-Mulk fled to Ahmednagar, where, however, he was assassinated by order of the Sultan (1551).

Ibrahim Shah, thus saved by the Hindoos, gave himself up to debauchery, and very soon fell ill. He called in a number of doctors, but as they were not able to cure him, he put

them to death, beheading some and having others trodden to death by elephants.

As might be expected, this treatment was not calculated to encourage the rest, who left his court in a body. The Sultan, left without medical aid, was equally unable to cure himself, and died in 1557 after a reign of twenty-four years.

Ibrahim Adil Shah was a passionate and headstrong man. As long as Assud Khan was his chief adviser, his reign was a prosperous one, but after he had quarrelled with him, and especially after Assud Khan's death, he degenerated into a licentious tyrant. Although constantly at war, he seems to have had little or no military talents, and all his successes were due to his Generals. When left to himself, he seems generally to have been defeated. The frequent manner in which both he and his rival Sultans appealed to Rama Rajah for assistance shows how rapidly the Hindoo kingdom had been growing in importance. Whilst the Mahomedan States, like Kilkenny cats, were destroying each other, the Hindoos were rapidly becoming the arbiters of the Deccan. During Ibrahim Shah's reign several important changes were made, which were destined to prove of importance in Deccan history. These were the employment of Brahmins and Hindoos in the Revenue and Accounts Departments, the use of the Vernacular in the preparation of accounts, and the enlistment of *Bergees* or Mahratta soldiers in the army. In Ahmednagar, the Nizam Shahs adopted the same policy, and the Sultan even appointed a Brahmin Minister with the title of *Peshwa*, the origin of the title which was subsequently to become so famous. The *Bergees* were enlisted from among the Mahratta villagers, almost all of which were situated in either Bijapur or Ahmednagar territories. They were mercenaries, and replaced the old Silladarees, who provided their own horses, and ranked more as gentlemen soldiers than as ordinary rank and file. These Mahratta troops, which in

Character.

Bijapur numbered as many as 30,000, introduced an entirely new system of warfare, which was subsequently brought to perfection by the great Sivajee. This system consisted in eluding the enemy as much as possible, and in harrassing him in every way, whilst on the line of march; cutting off supplies; night surprises and a general harrying of the country in front of the enemy. This led to a desultory predatory kind of warfare, in which the country and the cultivators suffered more than the armies. The change of the State religion, to which allusion has been made, did not have any political results. As a matter of fact, the Bijapur Sultans seem to have belonged alternately to the Sheeah and the Sunnee sects. Ibrahim Shah's son and successor at once reverted to the Sheeah, and his successors belonged sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other sect. The only effect of this was to bring about a spirit of tolerance, not only towards each other, but also towards the Hindoos.

GENEALOGY OF THE IMAD SHAHI DYNASTY.

(Berar—Capital Ellichpore and Burhanpore).

---

1. FATHULLAH IMAD SHAH BAHMANI
(a Hindoo boy captured by the Bahmani
King in a war with Vijayanagar and
turned Mahomedan. Revolted.
1483—1504.

|

2. ALLA UD DIN IMAD SHAH
1504—1528

|

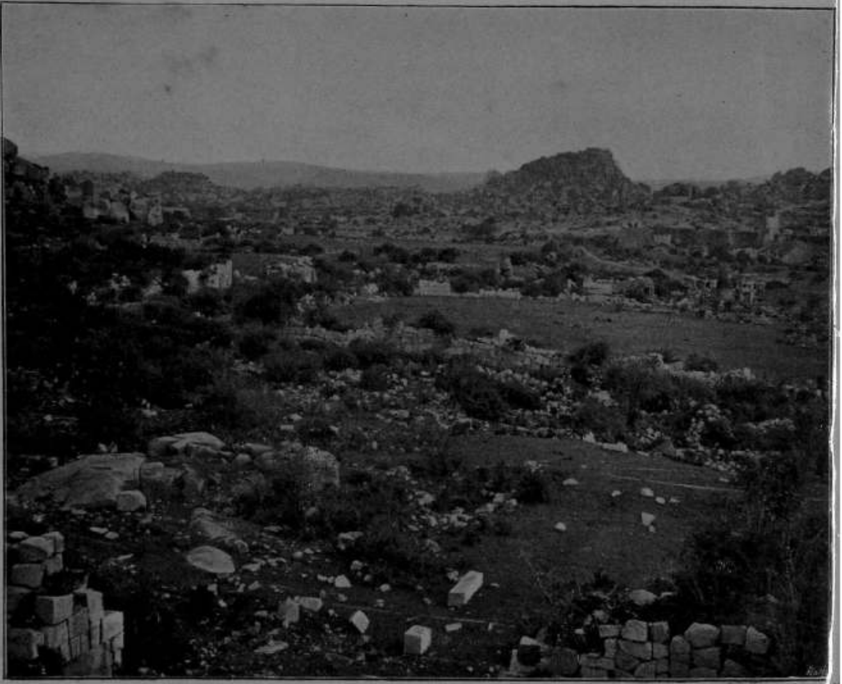
3. DARIYA IMAD SHAH
1528—1560

|

4. BURHAN IMAD SHAH
1560—1568

BIBI DOULAT
married HUSSAIN
King of Ahmednagar.

(N.B. In BURHAN's reign TUFAL KHAN seized the throne but was killed by MURTAZA NIZAM SHAH of Ahmednagar and Kingdom annexed.



CHAPTER XVII.

THE FALL OF VIJAYANAGAR.

In the year 1560, the Vijayanagar Kingdom was at the height of its splendour. Rama Rajah had subdued all his rebellious chiefs, and ruled without dispute from the Kistna to Cape Comorin. He had gradually extended his sway up to the mouths of the Godavery, was in alliance with the Hindoo Rajahs, who still maintained their independence north of that river, and was married to the daughter of the King of Orissa. In Madura, the ruler of the whole of the south

was a Deputy of Vijayanagar. In Taylor's "Oriental Manuscripts" there is an interesting account of the manner in which Visvanatha Naick, a General of the Hindoo King, reduced his own father who had assumed independence in Madura to obedience. The date of this transaction is fixed at A.D. 1432, or about one hundred years after the founding of Vijayanagar. Even at this time the Vijayanagar Rajah's rule is said to have extended over "fifty-six kingdoms, and he entertained in his service forty thousand cavalry, four thousand elephants, and ten thousand camels," and foot soldiers innumerable. The kingdom was bounded on the east and west by the sea, though the ports on the Western Coast were limited to those between Goa to the north and Calicut to the south. The only portion of the Southern Peninsula which did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Vijayanagar appears to have been that portion of the Western Coast in which the kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore are now situated. The whole of this enormous territory was sub-divided amongst minor Rajahs and petty Chiefs, all of whom paid tribute, and rendered feudal service to their over-lord. From time to time they occasionally asserted their independence or turned refractory, but they were generally reduced without much difficulty. The country was watered by several magnificent rivers, the Kistna, the Pennair, the Poniar, and the Cauvery. The mountains in Mysore and Travancore formed vast forests, which were full of wild elephants; the valleys were rich and fertile, and there runs throughout the whole extent from north to south a belt of gold-bearing quartz which must have been extensively worked. From a country so rich in natural resources the Kings derived an enormous revenue. We have already given extracts from the accounts of some of the travellers who visited Vijayanagar in the early part of the 15th century, all of whom speak in enthusiastic terms of the splendour and riches of the capital. An immense amount of the gold and

silver was melted into solid masses, and buried in cellars under the King's palace. But though fond of accumulating gold and jewels, the Hindoo Kings were always liberal in their expenditure on agricultural and irrigation works. The rivers were all dammed at different parts, and irrigation channels dug to the rice fields, and where no rivers existed, the whole face of the country was covered with a network of irrigation tanks and reservoirs, some of enormous size, covering many square miles in extent. At the beginning of this century, when Sir Thomas (then Captain) Munro was appointed to settle the Districts which had just been ceded after the Mysore War, he thus describes the country which is situated around the capital, Vijayanagar (the present districts of Bellary, Anantapoor, Cuddapah, and Kurnool):—"To attempt the construction of new tanks is perhaps a more hopeless experiment than the repair of those which have been filled up, *for there is scarcely any place where a tank can be made to advantage that has not already been applied to this purpose by the inhabitants*" (*Cuddapah Manual*, page 10). In the sub-division of the Cuddapah District, where the author was for some years the Principal Revenue Officer, there were in an area of 3,574 square miles no less than 4,194 tanks of various sizes. All these public works were built and maintained by an ingenious revenue system, under which none of the cost of maintenance was borne by the Government, and only in the case of the larger works, the cost of construction. Under this system called *Dasbandham* a portion of the land irrigated was allotted rent-free on condition of the grantee keeping the tank in repair, and in many cases of constructing it. The remainder of the land paid the usual rent to Government, and in this manner the Government whilst improving the country, added to its own revenues with but little additional expenditure.

Politically speaking, the importance of Vijayanagar had increased in the same way as its prosperity had done. During

the time of the Bahmanee Kings, although there were numerous wars, the boundary of the Tungabadhra or the Kistna was rarely over-stepped by either side. The fighting was almost entirely confined to the country lying between these two rivers, known as the Doab. With the ruin of the Bahmanee dynasty and the constant quarrels of the Mahomedan Kings, who established themselves in its place, the importance of Vijayanagar rapidly increased. The Doab became virtually Vijayanagar territory, and though the forts of Raichore and Mudkul were frequently retaken by the Bijapur Kings, they were not held for long. In course of time Rama Rajah assumed the aggressive, and we find him being called in, first on one side, and then on the other, and occasionally being subsidized by both. The reason why the Hindoo Kings had been able for so long to more than hold their own against the Mahomedans, in spite of the greater bravery and discipline of the latter, seems to have been their enormous recuperative power. Having so vast a population under their rule, they were, after each defeat, able to bring new hordes into the field, so that by mere force of numbers they were able to compel the Mahomedans to retire. The time, however, had now come for the final blow which was to crush Vijayanagar for ever, and we will now narrate the incidents that led up to it.

When Ibrahim Adil Shah died in 1557, Hussein Nizam Shah was ruling in Ahmednagar. He at once took advantage of the confusion attendant upon a new accession to invade the Bijapur territory, which he did in conjunction with Kutb Shah, who, however, soon deserted him, and he had to retire within his own dominions. Ali Adil Shah, who had succeeded his father Ibrahim, at once resolved to revenge the unprovoked attack, and at the same time endeavoured to regain Sholapore and Kallean. For this purpose he formed an alliance with Rama Rajah and Kutb Shah, whilst Hussein Shah made overtures to Imad Shah of Berar, and strengthened the

alliance by giving the latter his daughter in marriage. A proof of the value which was attached to the friendship of Rama Rajah is to be found in the unusual step which Ali Adil Shah took in order to gain his alliance. A son of Rama Rajah happening at this time to die, the Sultan, accompanied by only one hundred followers, went all the way to Vijayanagar to pay the Rajah a visit of condolence. He was hospitably received, and Ferishta says that the wife of Rama Rajah adopted Ali Adil Shah as her son, in order to cement the friendship between the two Kings.

But this visit instead of strengthening the friendship was, in reality, the cause of its dissolution. Rama Rajah, who was now an old man of over ninety years of age, displayed a considerable amount of arrogance, and made Adil Shah feel that he was a suppliant. The author, from whom we have so often quoted, says that, when leaving the city, Rama Rajah did not accompany the Sultan, and that this affront rankled in his mind, though he did not consider it prudent to show any signs of dissatisfaction at the time. It will be remembered that a similar want of respect excited the anger of Feroze Shah Bahmanee, when he paid a visit to Deva Rajah, one hundred and fifty years previously. The local tradition adds another reason why Adil Shah bore a grudge against Rama Rajah. It is said that they were riding together through the city, and the Sultan seeing a number of pigs, observed to the Rajah that he could not understand how Hindoos could eat the flesh of such uncleanly animals. The Rajah is said to have replied: "You Mahomedans eat fowls, do you not?" Of course the answer was in the affirmative. "Well," said the Rajah, "fowls pick their food from out of the dung of the swine, so that they must be even more uncleanly than the pigs which you despise." This the Sultan treasured up as an insult to his religion, and resolved to avenge it when the opportunity should come.

In 1558, the war which had been delayed by negociations broke out, since Nizam Shah indignantly refused to restore Sholapore. Rama Rajah, true to his promise, assisted Adil Shah with a large army, and Kutb Shah, who had at first promised to join Nizam Shah, speedily forsook him for the other side. This combination was too strong for Nizam Shah to withstand. The whole of his territory was laid waste and ravaged, and he himself was shut up in his capital, Ahmednagar. Here the Hindoo allies committed all kinds of excesses, mosques were desecrated, and Syeds and holy men slaughtered, whilst their wives and daughters were deflowered. All this excited the indignation of the Mahomedan princes, but what probably inflamed them still more was the pride and arrogance of Rama Rajah himself. He would not allow them to be seated in his presence, and made them to walk in his train, until he gave them permission to mount. At the close of the war, he compelled both Kutb Shah and Adil Shah to give up certain districts as the price of his assistance. In this way Kutb Shah gave up Kovilkondah, Bankul, and Kunbore, whilst Adil Shah had to resign Outingpur and Bakrukobe.

This termination of the war filled Adil Shah with disgust. He had gained nothing for himself, for Sholapore had not been taken, and Ahmednagar had managed to hold out, but, on the other hand, he had been made to resign two districts, and had been disgraced and dishonoured in the eyes of his co-religionists.

He is said to have been a man of considerable intelligence, and, if so, his eyes cannot but have been opened to the inevitable consequences of the growing power of Vijayanagar in the face of the suicidal quarrels of the Mahomedan Kings. Accordingly, he conceived the idea of a league of the Mahomedan Kings with which to crush the rival, who was now overshadowing them all. The first prince to whom the idea was revealed was Ibrahim Kutb Shah, of Golconda. He at

once signified his consent, and offered his services as a mediator to obtain not only the alliance of Nizam Shah, of Ahmednagar, but also the restoration to Adil Shah of the fort of Sholapore. In order to effect this design, he despatched Mustafa Khan, one of the most intelligent of his nobles, to Bijapur. Adil Shah, proving himself to be thoroughly in earnest, the ambassador, went on to Ahmednagar, and after a negociation lasting for some days, an arrangement was made. Hussein Nizam Shah agreed to give to Ali Adil Shah, Chund Bibi, his daughter, as wife, and with her the fort of Sholapore as a dowry. In return, Adil Shah was to give his daughter to Nizam Shah's eldest son, Sultan Murtiza. This double-marriage was carried out with great pomp, and the mutual treaties having been solemnly ratified, the two princesses started on the same day from their respective homes, in order to join their husbands. In Chund Bibi Adil Shah gained a prize infinitely more valuable than the fort of Sholapore. The history of the world has preserved the memory of many Queens, who have also been heroines, and Chund Bibi deserves to take a place in the foremost of their ranks. Tradition in the Deccan still honours her, and more recently the story of her life has been told in enthusiatic terms by Colonel Meadows Taylor. The holy league being thus formed, was also joined by Bereed Shah of Bieder. The Sultan of Berar does not seem to have been invited, and took no part in it. In the year 1564 the four princes met in the plains of Bijapur and then marched to Tellicotta, on the Bijapur bank of the Kistna. Though the preparations for this undertaking must have lasted some time, Rama Rajah seems to have at first treated it with contempt. But when convinced of the fact of the alliance, he despatched his younger brother, Timma Rajah, with a large army, said to have consisted of one hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and five hundred elephant, to guard the passages of the Kistna. His second

brother, Venkatadri, he sent with another large army as reserve, and himself followed with the whole of the rest of his forces. The allied armies by a series of clever feints managed to draw the Hindoos away from the only practicable ford, after which, returning by a forced march they succeeded in crossing the river without opposition, and then drew up their forces in order of battle. Hussein Nizam Shah, as was due to his age, took the lead, and commanded the centre; Ali Adil Shah commanded the right, and Kutb Shah with Bereed Shah the left wing. The artillery was fastened together by chains, and drawn up in front of the line, flanked on each side by the war elephants. Ferishta, who doubtless heard an account of the battle from eye-witnesses, gives a very graphic account of it, which we cannot do better than reproduce:—"Rama Rajah entrusted his left to his brother Eeltum (Timma?) Rajah, and his right to his other brother, Venkatadri, against Ali Adil Shah, while he himself commanded in the centre. Two thousand war elephants and one thousand pieces of cannon were placed at different intervals of his line. About twelve o'clock in the day, Rama Rajah mounted a litter in spite of the remonstrances of his officers, who wished him to be on horseback, as much safer; but he said there was no occasion for taking precautions against children who would certainly fly at the first charge. Both armies being in motion, soon came to battle, and the infidels begun the attack by vast flights of rockets and rapid discharges of artillery which did not discourage the allies. A general action took place, and many were slain on both sides. Rama Rajah, finding a different behaviour in the enemy from what he had expected, descended from his litter, and seating himself upon a rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls, ordered his treasurer to place heaps of money all round him, that he might confer rewards on such of his followers, as

deserved his attention. There were also rich ornaments of gold and jewels for the same purpose. The infidels, inspired by the generosity of their prince, charged the right and left of the allies with such vigour, that they were thrown into disorder; and Ali Adil Shah and Kutb Shah began to despair of victory, and prepare for retreat. Hussein Nizam Shah remained firm in the centre, and pushed so vigorously, that of Rama Rajah, that it began to be confused; upon which the Rajah again mounted his litter, which was soon after let fall by the bearers upon the approach of a furious elephant belonging to Nizam Shah, and before he had time to recover himself and mount a horse, a body of the allies took him prisoner, and conducted him to Chela Roomi, who commanded the artillery. He carried him to Nizam Shah, who ordered instantly his head to be struck off and placed upon the point of a long spear, so that his death might be proclaimed to the enemy. The Hindoos, according to custom, when they saw their chief destroyed, fled in the utmost confusion and disorder from the field of battle, and were pursued by the allies with such successful slaughter that the river which ran near the field of battle was dyed red with their blood. It is computed by the best authorities that one hundred thousand infidels were slain in the fight, or during the pursuit. The plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, as the Sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking a few elephants for their own use. *Firmans*, with accounts of this very important victory, were despatched to their several dominions, and the Sultans after the battle marched onwards into the country of Rama Rajah as far as Anagoondy, and the advanced troops penetrated to Vijayanagar, which they plundered, razed the chief buildings, and committed all kinds of excess." (*Scott's Translation.*) The Portuguese historian Faria-y-Suza (Kerr

VI., 422) writes:—"The trade of India in 1566 was reduced to a very low ebb by the desolating war between Vijayanagar and the Mahomedan Kings of the Deccan. The Vijayanagar King, who was then ninety-six years of age, was at first successful, but in the end was defeated and slain. The Mahomedans spent five months in plundering Vijayanagar, although the natives had previously carried away 1,550 elephant loads of money and jewels with above a hundred millions of gold, besides the royal chair, which was of inestimable value. In his share of the plunder Adil Shah, got a diamond, as large as an ordinary egg and another of extraordinary size, though smaller, together with other jewels of inestimable value." The temples which still remain almost all show traces of this search for plunder, and every hole and corner seems to have been ransacked. Two years afterwards, the city was visited by the Venetian traveller, Caêsar Fredericke. He speaks of the houses as still standing, but in parts of the city there were nothing but tigers and wild animals. Timma Rajah, brother of Rama Rajah, had then come back, and was endeavouring to re-people the city. In this, however, he never succeeded, and he also had to retire further south.

The battle of Tellicotta was a crushing blow to the Hindoo rule of South India. The representatives of the old reigning family withdrew first to Penna Konda, and then to Chandragiri in the North Arcot District, which remained the capital for more than two hundred years. But the country attached to this portion of the Hindoo family was very small in extent. After the defeat of Rama Rajah, all the vassal Rajahs asserted their own independence. Mysore, Madura, and Tanjore formed themselves into independent States, and the country round Vijayanagar was parcelled amongst petty chieftains and zemindars. If anything, the fall of Vijayanagar was a loss rather than a gain to the Mahomedan States. For some time to come the mutual jealousy which existed amongst the Sultans

prevented them from allowing the one or the other to extend his dominions. It is true that subsequently both Golconda and Bijapur did annex considerable tracts of the Vijayanagar territory, but they did not benefit to anything like the extent we should have imagined after such an utter collapse. Again, the near presence of a powerful Hindoo Kingdom compelled the Sultans to be always in a state of preparedness for war. This check removed, they seem to have reduced their armies, and to have spent their strength in perpetual struggles between each other, thus making it easier for them, subsequently, to fall victims to the Emperor of Delhi. Rama Rajah, the last of the Vijayanagar Kings, seems to have been a man of very considerable ability and force of character. A passage from the writer above mentioned, Cæsar Fredericke throws some light upon the disputed question, as to whether he was a usurper or a descendant of the Second or Nursimha dynasty, He says that Rama Rajah and his two brothers, Timma and Venkatadri, had been captains of Krishna Deva Rajah (1509—30), and that on his death they assumed the power, and kept his son, an infant, named Sadashiva Rajah, in prison, showing him to the people once a year. This explains the reason of the rebellion of Hojè Perumal Rajah alluded to before (1535). He took advantage of Rama Rajah's absence to kill the young King, and to seat himself on the throne. The manner of his death has been narrated. When this occurred, Rama Rajah, who had married Krishna Deva's daughter (see Sewell's Tables, "Antiquities of South India," Vol. II., 248), would be the next representative of the family. There seems to be little doubt that if the battle of Tellicotta had ended differently, Rama Rajah would have crushed the Mahomedan States. The struggle to them was one for very existence. Rama Rajah's arrogance in his later years shows to what an extent he had asserted his supremacy over the Mahomedan Kings, and his final disaster seems to have been partly due to the contempt

in which he held them. It is clear that he must have been a man of extraordinary energy and bodily power to have taken a leading part in the battle, at so advanced an age. As already stated, a descendant of the last Vijayanagar dynasty still lives at Anagoondy, close by the ruins of the old city.

GENEALOGY OF THE VIJAYANAGAR KINGS.

First dynasty

BUKKA
|
SANGAMMA

1. HARIHARA I
A-D. 1336—50

2. BUKKA
1350—79
|
3. HARIHARA II
1379—1401
|
4. DEVA RAJAH I
1401—1412
|
5. VIJAYA BHUPATI
1418
|
6. DEVA RAJAH II
—1447
7. VIRU'PAKSHA

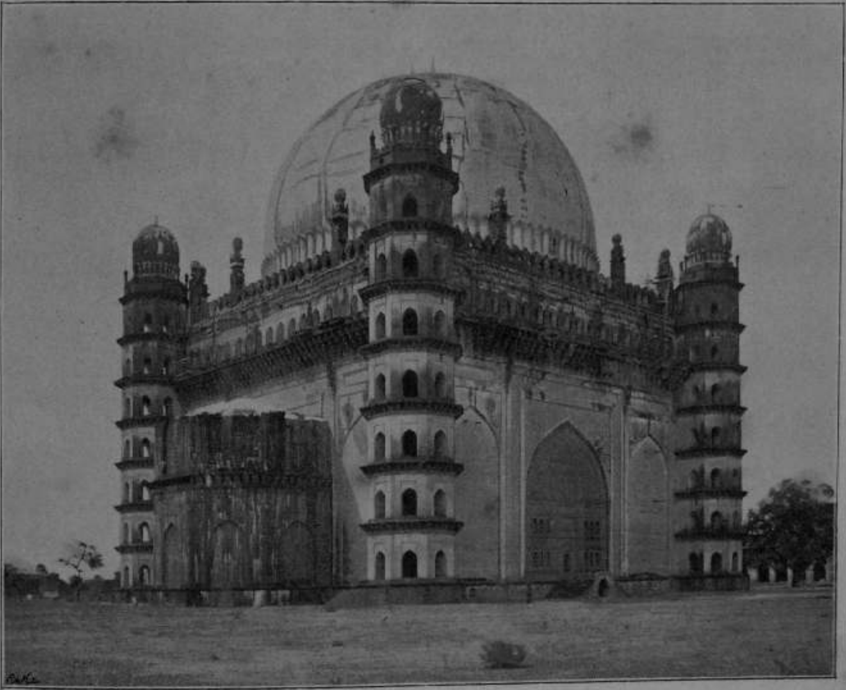
Second dynasty.

1. NARASIMHA
1487(?)—1509
|
2. KRISHNA DEVA RAJAH
1509—1530
|
daughter TIRUMA LAMBA =

Third dynasty

RAMA RAJAH
1530—1564
Killed at | Tellikotta

(*Taken from Sewell's tables*).



CHAPTER XVIII.

AHMEDNAGAR AND BIJAPUR FROM THE FALL OF VIJAYANAGAR TILL THE DEATH OF ALI ADIL SHAH (1580).

It was not long after the fall of Vijayanagar that dissensions again broke out between the Mahomedan Kings of the Deccan. Shortly after his return to Ahmednagar Hussein Nizam Shah died, and was succeeded by his son, Murtaza (1565—1588), who is known by the name of the Madman. For the first few years of his reign, Murtaza was a minor, and the regency was conducted by his mother, Khunza Sultana. Ibrahim Adil Shah, taking advantage of Murtaza's infancy, led an army

against Venkatadri, Rama Rajah's brother, in the hope of annexing more of the Vijayanagar territory. Venkatadri appealed to Ahmednagar for help, and, true to the old Deccan policy of preventing any one of the roial Kings from becoming too powerful, the Queen Regent sent an army to assist Venkatadri, and the Bijapur troops were compelled to retire. Peace was then concluded, and a stipulation made that neither of the Mahomedan Kings should conquer any of the Hindoo territory without mutual consent. The two Mahomedan armies then coalesced and marched against Berar, where Tufal Khan, the Prime Minister, had usurped the authority. The combined armies, after having ravaged the country, marched back to Ahmednagar, where Ali Adil Shah, the Bijapur King, attempted to surprise the young Sultan Murtaza. Khunza Sultana, however, was warned in time, and managed to escape at night with her son and the Bijapur King returned to his capital *re infectá*. For the next three years continual fighting took place between Ahmednagar and Bijapur with varying success, until at last, in 1569, Kishwar Khan, the Bijapur General, invaded the Ahmednagar territory with a large army. The Queen Regent, with the young Sultan, marched to oppose this invasion, but whilst in camp, Murtaza, having gained over some of his nobles, suddenly asserted his own independence, took his mother prisoner, and having sent her away, placed himself at the head of the army. He then laid siege to the fort of Dharur, which he carried by assault, the Bijapur General being killed by an arrow in the heart. In this war Murtaza was assisted by Kutb Shah of Golconda, and the two Sultans then prepared to attack Bijapur. Dissensions however, soon arose between them, and on Murtaza attempting to seize the person of Kutb Shah, the latter made his escape, but had to leave his camp behind, which was plundered by the Nizam Shahis. Murtaza then concluded peace with Ali Adil Shah, and returned to Ahmednagar. In the following year an attack

was made by the Ahmednagar troops upon the Portuguese fort of Revdanda, which, however, proved a failure, the General, according to Ferishta, having been bought off by large presents, especially of Spanish wine. After this repulse Murtaza appointed Chengiz Khan to be his Minister and he succeeded in effecting several reforms. Chengiz Khan seems to have been a man of considerable ability, and he soon saw that the jealous policy pursued by the Deccan Kings was likely to bring about their own ruin. Accordingly, he formed a treaty with Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, under the terms of which the latter was to be allowed to conquer as much of the Vijayanagar country as he could, whilst Ahmednagar was to be at liberty to annex Berar (1572). Sultan Kutb Shah of Golconda was not a party to this treaty, but he, on his part, was employed in extending his dominions towards the Eastern Coast, and in subduing the Hindoo Rajahs towards the mouth of the Godavery. Ali Adil Shah being thus free, at once attacked the strong fort of Adoni, which up to that time had been considered impregnable. Adoni was defended by eleven strong walls, and the citadel is situated on the top of a hill. It had long been used by the Hindoo kings as a place of safe refuge. As it seemed impossible to carry the fort by storm, it was closely invested, and at length yielded to hunger. Flushed with this success, Ali Adil Shah penetrated further into the Carnatic, and took several forts, and amongst them Darwer, which was held to be one of the strongest forts in the Carnatic. Binkapore also fell to his arms, together with Gandikota, on the right bank of the Pennair river, in the present district of Cuddapah. This fort is also one of considerable importance, and later on when it belonged to Golconda, it was still more strongly fortified by the celebrated Mir Jumla. It is situated on the top of a hill just at the entrance of the gorge, through which the Pennair rushes. This gorge is very narrow, and the sides of the hills

are almost perpendicular. The name itself signifies the fort of the gorge (Gandi-gorge; Kota-fort), and it was for many years held to be of considerable importance. It was here, a hundred years later, that the European traveller, Tavernier, had an interview with Mir Jumla.

Whilst the Bijapur King was thus successfully extending his conquest into the Carnatic, Murtaza Shah had turned his arms against Berar, where Tufal Khan was still at the head of the Government, and kept the person of the young King, Imad Shah, in confinement. He was soon driven from Ellichpur, and for some months wandered about together with the young Sultan, from place to place. He applied to Khandeish for assistance and shelter, but the King refused both, for fear of the vengeance of Murtaza Nizam Shah. At last Tufal Khan applied to the Emperor Abkar for help, and a letter was written to Murtaza Shah ordering him to desist. It is, however, a far cry from Berar to Delhi, and Murtaza took no notice of the command, the authority of which he did not recognize. Soon afterwards Tufal Khan and the young Sultan fell into Murtaza's hands, and whilst in confinement both died, it is said, by poison. But though Murtaza had thus met with a temporary success, his neglect of the Imperial command brought him into contact with another power which was destined ere long to overshadow, not only Ahmednagar, but the whole of the Deccan. Akbar, stung at the slight offered to his letter, as soon as he heard of the death of Tufal Khan and of the last of the Imad Shah Sultans, resolved to take an active part in Deccan affairs, and for that purpose began to march towards Berar with an army of observation (1576). The ostensible reason assigned was hunting, but the real reason was to gain a footing to the south of the Vindhyas. Murtaza Shah had, moreover, allowed himself to become jealous of the power of Chengiz Khan, his Minister. It was whispered to him that Chengiz Khan contemplated assuming

royal honours in Berar, and, when later on, the Minister suggested to the Sultan that he should be left there with an army to defend the recent conquest from attacks, either on the part of Khandeish or Delhi, the Sultan deemed this to be a confirmation of the accusation. He accordingly ordered the Minister's physician to give him a dose of poison in his medicine. Chengiz Khan when told of the order, at once submitted. He protested his innocence of any rebellious intentions, and swallowed the fatal draught, after leaving a message to the King that his body should be sent to Kerbela.*

After his death, the King found out his mistake, but it was too late, and Murtaza retired in disgust to his capital, where, for some time, he shut himself up in his palace. During this time his favourite, named Sahib Khan, with a

*Ferishta (Scott's Translation) gives the latter in full. It ran as follows:—"The faithful servant, Meeruk, the sun of whose age has passed through sixty mansions, and was hastening to the seventieth, having laid the head of submission on the threshold of your Majesty, represents that the draught mixed with the water of life, he has knowingly drunk, and with eager desire. Having placed the treasures of duty and loyalty to the Sultan by whose bounty I was cherished in the casket of my bosom, I shut my eyes from the observance of strangers. As lasting as the grave may well be to me, so be the life of your Majesty. I hope this much from the Sultan, that, esteeming me, both in life and death, among the number of loyal servants, he will act according to the maxims I send by my own hand; that he will send my body to Kerbela; that he will esteem certain Amrahs named in the petition, as worthy of distinction, and entertain my foreign servants among his own guards." The murder of Chengiz Khan is another example of the inveterate feud between the Deccanees and the foreigners. As soon as a foreign Mahomedan by his ability and honesty raised himself above the heads of the Deccanee nobles, he was the object of their relentless hatred. The most faithful services were not able to overcome the suspicion which they were able to instill in the minds of the Sultan, and we constantly find the King himself ordering the death of his most devoted servants, to discover when, too late, that they had been unjustly accused.

band of depraved associates, committed all kinds of excesses in the city, not scrupling to seize the daughters and even the sons of noblemen for the vilest purposes. One nobleman of ancient family was even killed, whilst protecting the honour of his daughter, and another was ordered to change his name, because it happened to be the same as that of the insolent favourite. The Sultan himself seems to have been half-insane. On one occasion he left his palace alone, and made his way towards the tomb of the Saint Imam Reza. He was, however, recognized by a country-man, and persuaded to return. The indignation in the city at the insolent behaviour of the favourite, Sahib Khan, was so great, that he found it necessary to escape, but the Sultan followed and overtook him, and induced him to return. Salabat Khan, destined to be one of the best of the Ahmednagar Ministers, was the representative of the nobleman as against Sahib Khan, but for the time he had to retire from Court. The Sultan, in order to please his favourite, now made an unprovoked attack upon Bieder, where Ali Bereed was ruling. The malcontents in Ahmednagar took advantage of this absence to proclaim the Sultan's brother, Boorahan Shah, and Murtaza had to return in haste to his capital to suppress the rebellion. In this extremity, the Sultan had to send again for Salabat Khan, who insisted upon the favourite being dismissed. This was done, and a body of troops were sent with him as an escort, but instead of defending him, they murdered him on the way. Salabat Khan succeeded in quelling the revolt without difficulty, and Boorahan Shah fled to Bijapur, where he was kindly received by Ali Adil Shah. Salabat Khan now became Minister of Ahmednagar, and ruled the country well for several years. Ferishta says:—"The country of Mheerut was never so well governed as by him, since the reign of Sultan Mahmoud Bahmanee."

For the time the threatened interference of Akbar was

averted. Either he thought the time had not yet come, or that his army was not strong enough. At all events he did not cross the Vindhya mountains, and shortly afterwards marched back to Delhi.

It is now time to revert to the affairs of Bijapur. We left Ali Adil Shah in the midst of his conquests in the Carnatic. It must always be remembered that the Mahomedan conquests, not only in the Deccan, but also throughout India, were the conquests by a foreign army of the forts and strongholds. The country itself was left untouched, and the fort once taken, it was either razed like Vijayanagar, or a garrison being left there, the army marched on. The Hindoo ryots were left to till their fields as before, and the only difference to them was, that they paid their land-tax to a Mahomedan, instead of a Hindoo landlord. The artizans and merchants still plied their crafts as formerly, it was only the members of the royal families who retreated before the conquerors. A large number of the landed proprietors were also allowed to remain, with authority to collect the land revenue on condition, however, that they paid a fixed rent to the Government. Over each small district was placed a Mahomedan Governor, who was supported by a small body of troops, with which he kept order. It was the presence of these outposts, with the army at headquarters ready to back them up, that kept the country in order. There was no occupation of the country by the Mahomedans, and no settlement of the conquerors in the rural parts. The Hindoo population remained a nation as separate and as apart as it had been when they were ruled by their own countrymen. Their customs and their religious rites remained the same. When the wave of war swept over their villages, then temples and shrines were desecrated, but in those places which had not been visited by the foreign army, the old structures still remained, and during times of peace, they were not molested. Some of these Hindoo

Zemindars proved faithful servants, and brought with them their own retainers to serve in the Mahomedan armies. In this way the constitution of the Mahomedan armies of the Deccan underwent a gradual change. Whether it was owing to constant feud between the foreign and the Deccanee Mahomedans, or whether foreigners found greater attractions in the armies of the great Delhi Emperors, cannot now be said, but it seems certain that there was no longer the same quantity of volunteer adventurers from foreign parts, from whom to recruit the Deccan armies. It therefore became the custom to recruit the ranks largely from among the Hindoo warlike tribes—the Beydars, Mahrattas and Rajputs. The chief commands were still bestowed upon Mahomedans, and there were also special regiments composed exclusively of Mahomedans amongst whom were also Arabs and Abyssinians. The armies, however, were very largely made up of Hindoos, and not only did this cause a change in their system of warfare, but it led eventually to a weakening of the army itself. The Mahratttas, or Bergees, as they are termed by the Mahomedan historians, especially distinguished themselves as irregular cavalry, and were greatly employed in the hilly country which ends in the Western Ghauts. Mahomedans at no period seem to have had any partiality for hills and jungles. When they received a jaghir, (or estate) they preferred that it should be in the plains, if possible, not far from the capital. Even then, they seldom resided in their country seats, except occasionally for hunting or purposes of sport. They preferred the vicinity of the Courts with all their intrigues and their luxury. They therefore left the wilder portions of the Deccan in the hands of these Hindoo chieftains, stipulating only that each Zemindar should bring a certain number of retainers into the field. In this way there gradually grew up a hardy race of mountaineers, always the best stuff for soldiers, who, brought up in their own faith and traditions, were yet taught the art

of war by their conquerors, and only awaited a time of danger and of weakness to raise the standard of revolt, and assert their own independence. This was, in fact, the origin of the Mahratta nation, and the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmednagar may be said to have educated and brought into existence the nation which, before long, was to take, not only their places, but very nearly to acquire the sovereignty of India.

It was about this time (1578) that the first signs of the coming danger showed themselves. A number of the Bergee chiefs broke into excesses, and an army was sent into their hilly country by Ali Adil Shah. The disciplined forces of Bijapur could make no head against these hill robbers, and after skirmishing for nearly a year, they had to retire with considerable loss. Mustafa Khan, the Sultan's Minister, perceiving the impossibility of using regular troops in so inaccessible a country, then devised the perfidious scheme of enticing the chiefs to Bijapur, and of there slaughtering them. To this plan Adil Shah agreed, and an instrument having been found in the person of a Brahmin, named Vasoojee Punt, he was despatched to entice them by promises A few refused to fall into the snare, and amongst them the principal chief, Handeattum (Hanumanta?) Naick, who retired with his followers to Bilkonda. The rest came to Bijapur, and there they were all assassinated. No details of this foul act of treachery are given by the Mahomedan historians, and it is merely alluded to in passing. There can, however, be little doubt that this act of cruelty must have long lived in the memory of the Mahrattas, and was possibly a principal factor in exciting a race-hatred which was to serve eventually to bind them together as a nation. Up to this time there seems to have been a certain amount of cordiality between the Mahomedans and the Hindoos, but soon after this period, we find this spirit to be entirely changed, and it may not therefore be unreasonable to assign this treacherous act as one of the causes of this estrangement.

In 1580, Ali Adil Shah died, assassinated by one of his servants in a brawl, and was succeeded by his nephew, Ibrahim, then in his ninth year. Ali was a munificent patron of architecture, and many of his buildings at Bijapur still remain. The Jumma mosque, the large masonry pond near the Shahapur Gate, and the water-courses which carried water through all the streets of the city are attributed by Ferishta to this King. During his reign, the first ambassadors were sent from Delhi to Bijapur, and many learned men visited his court from Persia, Arabia, and Turkey.

GENEALOGY OF THE NIZAM SHAHI DYNASTY.

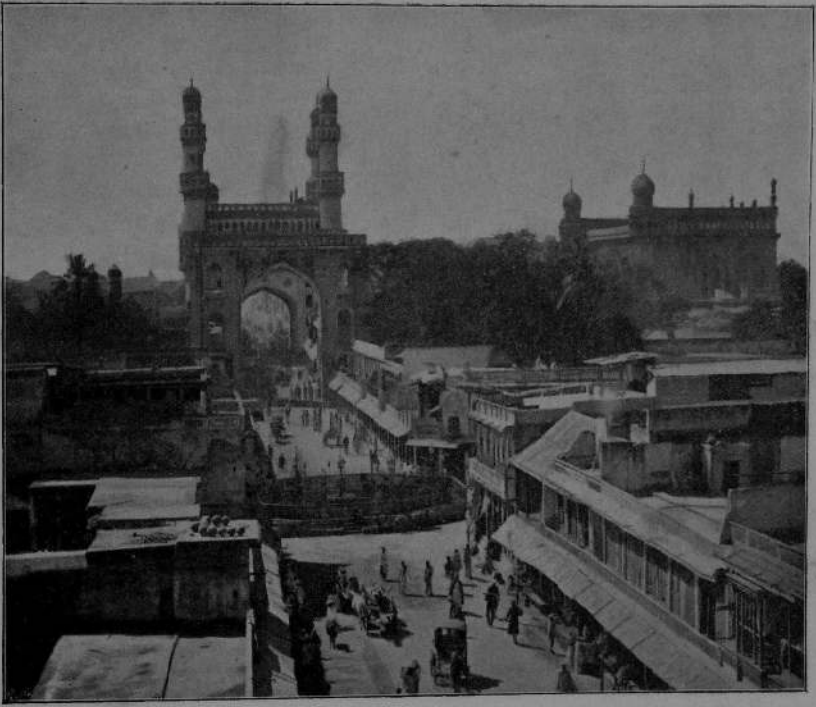
(AHMEDNAGAR).

- 1. AMAD BEHARI (revolted from the Bahmani Kingdom) 1490—1508
  - 2. BURHAN I 1508—1553
    - By his wife AMINA
      - 3. HUSAIN 1553—1565
        - 4. MURTAZA I 1565—1587
          - 5. MIRAN 1587—1589
        - 7. BURHAN II 1590—1594
          - 6. ISMAIL 1589—1590
          - 8. IBRAHIM 1594
            - 9. AHMED IBN SHAH TAHIR 1594—1595
            - 10. BAHADUR 1595—1599
      - ABDUL KHADER
    - By his wife MARIYAM
      - SHAH ALI
        - 11. MURTAZA II 1599—1607
      - a son

(N.B. After BAHADUR Ahmednagar was annexed to Delhi, but Malik Amber maintained his independence at first as deputy of MURTAZA II and afterwards as sole ruler at Dowlatabad and Aurangabad until his death in 1626 when his son was conquered and the whole of the kingdom annexed to Delhi).

GENEALOGY OF THE ADIL SHAHI DYNASTY. (BIJAPUR).

- 1. ABU'L MUZAFFAR YUSUF ADIL 1489—1511
  - 2. ISMAEL ADIL SHAH 1511—1534
    - 3. MALU ADIL SHAH 1534—1535
    - 4. IBRAHIM ADIL 1535—1557
      - 5. ALI ADIL 1557—1579
      - TAHMASP
        - 6. IBRAHIM ADIL 1579—1626
          - 7. MUHAMMED ADIL 1626—1656
            - 8. ALI ADIL 1656—1659
              - 9. SIKANDER 1659—1686.
        - ISMAIL
    - a daughter MARRIED ALA-UD-DIN IMAD SHAH of BERAR
  - daughter MARRIED AHMED SHAH BAHMANI
  - MARIYAM married BURHAN SHAH of AHMEDNAGAR



MAIN STREET. HYDERABAD.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE STORY OF QUEEN CHAND AND THE FALL OF AHMEDNAGAR.

In 1580, the year after the death of Ali Adil Shah, there died also Ibrahim Kutb Shah of Golconda. He was the fourth in succession from his father, the first King, Sultan Kuli. It has been narrated how Sultan Kuli was assassinated whilst in the mosque in 1543, and was succeeded by his son, Jamshid Kuli. This King reigned for seven years only, until 1550.

During this time he was frequently engaged in the various quarrels between Bijapur, Bieder, and Ahmednagar, either on one side or the other. He was a man of considerable political sagacity, and always contrived to be on the winning side, so that out of each quarrel he managed to draw some advantage for himself. For almost the whole period of Jamshid's reign, his brother, Ibrahim, was living at Vijayanagar, protected by the Hindoo King Rama Rajah. When Jamshid died, his son, Sultan Kuli, was proclaimed King, but reigned only for six months. His Minister, Saif Khan, made himself very unpopular; the nobles revolted, called in Ibrahim and placed him on the throne. At first in gratitude to Rama Rajah for the protection which he had received, the relations between Vijayanagar and Golconda were of a very friendly character. Soon after his accession Ibrahim Shah was invited by Nizam Shah to join in an alliance against Bijapur, and was only dissuaded from so doing by a letter from Rama Rajah. The following is the text of the letter:—

"Be it known to your Majesty that it is now many years since the two courts of Bijapur and Ahmednagar have been in a constant state of warfare, and that the balance of power between them was so equal, that, although every year each of these sovereigns had been in the habit of making a campaign on the others frontiers, yet no advantage accrued to either. It now appears that your Majesty (whose ancestors never interfered in those disputes) has marched an army to turn the scale in favour of Hussein Nizam Shah, without having any cause of enmity against Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, who has accordingly sought our alliance. As a friendship has long subsisted between our court and your Majesty, we have thought fit to lay these arguments before you to induce your Majesty to relinquish the offensive alliance which your Majesty has formed, and by returning peaceably to your capital, show a friendly disposition towards both parties, who

will afterwards conclude a peace and put an end to this protracted war." (*Historical Sketch*, Vol. II., p. 476.)

Ibrahim Kutb Shah yielded to this request, and not only withdrew his army, but in the following year sent a body of troops to assist Rama Rajah in the revolt of his uncle, to which we have already alluded. For the next few years we find Kutb Shah engaged with his own affairs, but in the meantime Rama Rajah's power had gone on steadily increasing. The letter quoted above shows what the Hindoo Rajah's policy was, and we have seen how he played off Bijapur against Ahmednagar, first siding with the one, and then with the other, until he had made himself the arbiter of the affairs of the Deccan. And now we find another instance of how in politics there can be no sentiment and no feelings of gratitude. Rama Rajah's arrogance increased with his power, until, as we have seen, he would not allow the Mahomedan Sultans to sit in his presence, or to mount their horses until he gave the order. Then it was that Ali Adil Shah, the adopted son of the Hindoo Rajah's mother, proposed the alliance of Mahomedans against the infidel, and Ibrahim Kutb Shah, who owed his very existence to Rama Rajah, concluded the negociations. The result of this alliance was the battle of Tellicotta, and the downfall of the Hindoo Kingdom. Golconda does not seem to have benefited much in an extension of its boundaries towards the south. Kutb Shah had his hands full with the Hindoo Rajahs on the Eastern Coast, all of whom had been allied with Vijayanagar. Whilst he was subduing these, Ali Adil Shah spread his conquest into the Carnatic, and the Golconda boundary towards the South still remained the Kistna. It is probable that Kutb Shah began to realise how rich this country was in gold and precious stones, and throughout the rest of the Golconda history, we find the Sultans more engaged with their own affairs and abstaining—comparatively speaking—from interfering in the constant

disputes between Bijapur and Ahmednagar. We have spoken of the wealth of the Golconda country in jewels and gold. The mines of Golconda are a proverb, but it is as well to state at once that there never was a diamond mine at Golconda, or anywhere within eighty miles of the fort. The celebrated diamond mines were all situated in the country that now forms the British districts of Kurnul, Cuddapah, and Nellore, and the diamonds were brought to, and stored in, the royal fort of Golconda, but as the merchants mostly resorted there, they gave the name of Golconda diamonds to stones that were really found elsewhere.

From the battle of Tellicotta up to the end of his reign, Ibrahim Kutb Shah was engaged in very few of the Deccan wars. The policy of the Golconda Kings seems always to have been to mix themselves as little as possible in Deccan affairs. The consequence was that he was able to devote himself to the improvement of his country. The fort at Golconda was entirely rebuilt and strengthened, many fine palaces were erected there, and several large irrigation tanks, among them being the beautiful sheet of water now known as the Hussein Saugur Tank, situated between Hyderabad and Secunderabad; the dam at Budwal, &c., &c. Ferishta says that during his prosperous reign "Telingana, like Egypt, became the mart of the whole world. Merchants from Turkistan, Arabia, and Persia resorted to it; and they met with such encouragement that they found in it inducements to return frequently. The greatest luxuries from foreign parts daily abounded at this King's hospitable board." Ibrahim Kutb Shah died in the thirty-first year of his reign, and out of thirty children, six sons and thirteen daughters survived him.

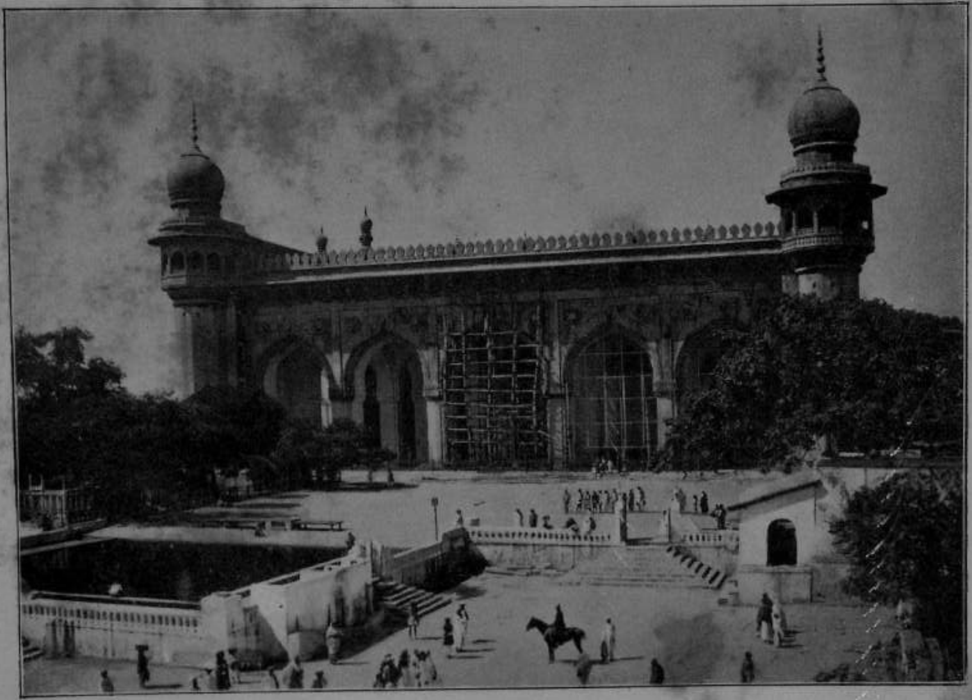
We must now return to Bijapur. When Ali Adil Shah died (1579), the most popular personage in Bijapur was his wife, Chand Bibi, who, it will be remembered, was the sister of the Ahmednagar Sultan. She was a woman of great intel-

ligence and activity. She accompanied her husband in his campaigns and rode by his side to battle. During times of peace a large portion of the public affairs were entrusted to her, and she gave audiences and transacted business in open durbar. She was beloved by all, not only for her daring, but also for her justice and firmness. When her husband died, Chand Bibi assumed the direction of affairs, associating with herself Kamil Khan Deccanee. Every day, except Wednesdays and Fridays, public halls of justice were held, at which the young Sultan, who was only nine years old, appeared seated on the throne. For some time matters went on well, but then the co-regent appears to have been guilty of some insult to the Queen. She called in Kishawar Khan, and on his appearance Kamil Khan fled, but was overtaken four miles from the city and killed, his head being cut off and carried back. Kishawar Khan was now made co-regent, but he very soon began to indulge in ambitious designs. He excited the hostility of the nobles, who advised the Queen to send for Mustafa Khan, the Governor of Binkapur. Kishawar Khan hearing of this, despatched an order to a Jaghirdar living near Binkapur to assassinate Mustafa Khan—and had this order sealed with the royal seal. The order was carried out, and Mustafa Khan was bow-strung whilst at prayers. Matters now came to an open outbreak between the Queen and Kishawar Khan, and for a time the latter was successful. Acting in the young King's name, he procured an order confining Chand Bibi in the fort of Satara on the accusation that she had invited her brother to invade Bijapur from Ahmednagar. Kishawar Khan had now possession of the King's person, and for some time exercised despotic power. As soon as the troops heard of the Queen's imprisonment, they at once marched upon Bijapur, determined to depose the tyrant. In this movement they were supported by the people whose love for Queen Chand was unbounded. Indeed, when Kishawar Khan rode through the

city in company with the young King, he was greeted by the populace with hoots and hisses, and even the women threw dirt and ashes at him, reviling him as the oppressor of the Queen, and the murderer of a holy Seyd (Mustafa Khan). Kishawar Khan, seeing that the whole people and the army were against him, escaped from the city, and leaving the young King in one of the royal gardens, fled first to Ahmednagar, but being refused shelter there, went on to Golconda, where he was soon afterwards assassinated by a relative of Mustafa Khan. At this point I cannot do better than quote the words of one far better qualified to write the history of the Deccan and who, in his historical romance of "A Noble Queen," has done full justice to the memory of Chand Bibi.* I give the extract verbatim:—

"Delivered from Kishawar Khan, the young King at once sent for his aunt, and her office of Regent was resumed. The new Minister, Ekhlas Khan, was an Abyssinian, and, like all his tribe, violent and uncontrollable, and the factious dissensions which ensued between Deccanees and Abyssinians, which led to bloody contests in the streets, encouraged the invasion of the kingdom by the Kings of Berar, Bieder, and Golconda, and the close investment of the city followed at a time when there were not two thousand troops for its defence. Ekhlas Khan, though turbulent as a Minister, was, however, a brave and faithful soldier, and the city was well defended. The Queen, accompanied by her nephew the King, went from post to post at night, though the weather was the severest of the rainy season, cheering, encouraging, and directing all. Two divisions of cavalry without the walls did good service in cutting off supplies and forage from the enemy, and harassing their flanks, but at last twenty yards of the city wall fell down after a night of heavy rain, and an assault was imminent, but, owing to dissensions in the enemy's camp,

* The late Colonel Meadow Taylor.



Jumma Musjid. Hyderabad.

did not take place. Meanwhile the Queen, taking advantage of the respite, not only guarded the breach in person, but collected the masons of the city, and setting the example herself, and freely distributing rewards, had the breach completed in time to prevent any chance of attack by storm. She had never left the spot by day or night, and all entreaties for her to spare herself from the inclement weather and take rest were unavailing.

"The sore straits to which the kingdom had been reduced by the violence and obstinacy of the Abyssinian party now struck them so forcibly, that their leaders went in a body to the Queen and laid down their authority, beseeching her to do what she pleased with them so long as she and the King were safe. The Queen received this evidently earnest submission in a generous spirit. A new Minister, who possessed the confidence of all, was appointed, and in less than a month an army of twenty thousand of the old troops had collected at the capital. The Queen's devotion and spirited personal valour had inspired confidence in all, which now amounted to positive enthusiasm. The city had been invested for more than a year, its weak garrison was often mutinous and despairing, a large breach had occurred in the works, and anarchy prevailed throughout the whole kingdom. Yet this noble woman had redeemed all by her personal example, and the siege was raised, the several allies retiring to their own dominions. And now the Queen hoped for peace.

"Alas! it was not to be yet. Dilawar Khan, one of the military commanders, attacked the Minister, and blinded him, usurping the executive power. Many other atrocities were committed, and again the Queen's authority was reduced to the mere control of the palace and education of the King. But, in spite of many cruelties, Dilawar Khan was an able administrator; the resources of the kingdom were again developed, its Government began to be respected, and no more

attacks were made upon its possessions. The events I have detailed were crowded into the space of four years, and as the King was approaching the age at which his majority could be declared, the Queen hoped, that with it the rest and peace she so intensely longed for would come to her. But there was still more to be done.

"Not at Bijapur, but in her native city Ahmednagar. The King Murtuza asked for the hand of Khodeija Sultana, the sister of his ward the King, for his son the Prince Hussein, and considering that all trouble at Bijapur was at an end, the Queen Chand accompanied the bride-elect, the Royal party being escorted by the choicest of the Ahmednagar cavalry. She had hoped to find peace in her old home; but she found that home more convulsed with faction, and more distracted within and without, than when she had left it. Her brother, Murtuza, always violent, had become in reality mad, and had attempted the life of his son Meeran, who, in revenge, attacked his father in the palace at Ahmednagar, and caused him to be suffocated in a hot bath. An account of this revolution is given minutely by the historian Ferishta, who was in command of the palace guards, and which is very dramatic in its details, but too long for extract. He does not, however, mention the Queen Chand, who must have been in the fort at the time of the tragedy. The new King did not long survive this act of parricide, and, after a few months, was seized by his Minister and publicly beheaded amidst the execrations of the people. After his death a frightful tumult arose; the fort was carried by the mob, and hundreds of persons of distinction, chiefly foreigners, perished. A period of anarchy then ensued, when Ismail, a son of Boorhan, who was brother of Murtuza Nizam Shah, and, therefore, nephew of Queen Chand, was declared King; and Jumal Khan, head of the Deccanee party, constituted himself Regent and Minister. This revolution was opposed by Bijapur and Berar;

and the troops of the latter were defeated by Jumal Khan; but peace was concluded with Bijapur, and Queen Chand, wearied by constant strife and atrocities which she had no power to control, was allowed to join the Bijapur army then in the field, and returned with it, though with no authority, to the capital, there, as she trusted, to end her days in peace. She was received by the people with their former enthusiasm, and by the young King with no diminution of his old affection; but she took no part in public affairs, which, under the young King, were very prosperous. At Ahmednagar other revolutions followed with which this tale has no concern. Ismail, who had succeeded, was, after some time, attacked by his father, Boorhan, who had obtained the aid and sympathy of Akbar, Emperor of Delhi, and was deposed, and Boorhan himself reigned till his death in 1594 in comparative peace. He was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, a weak, violent prince, and the fortunes of the kingdom will be understood from the course of the present story to its close. At Bijapur Queen Chand lived in peace, and only assumed local authority at the request of her nephew, whenever his temporary absence was necessary on tours of his dominions or in the field.

"Such were the real antecedents of our 'Noble Queen.' I trust they may not be considered out of place in a work professedly of fiction, but tend to make more intelligible that which would be otherwise, perhaps, strange and confused. Few in England know that the contemporary of our Queen Elizabeth in the Deccan kingdoms was a woman of equal ability, of equal political talent, of equal, though in a different sense, education and accomplishments, who ruled over a realm as large, a population as large, and as intelligent, and as rich as England; a woman who, surrounded by jealous enemies, preserved by her own personal valour and endurance her kingdom from destruction and partition; who through all temptations and exercise of absolute power, was at once simple,

generous, frank, and merciful as she was chaste, virtuous, religious, and charitable—one who, among all the women of India, stands out as a jewel without flaw and beyond price."

In the extract given above reference is made to the tragedy which occurred at Ahmednagar, of which a more detailed account seems to be called for here. We have already alluded to the favourite of Murtaza Shah, Saheb Khan. After this minion's death, he was succeeded by another, a dancer, named Futteh Shah. This person took advantage of his influence over his royal master to obtain large grants of lands and gifts of jewels. At length, he asked for two necklaces which had formed a part of the plunder of Rama Rajah, and which were composed of the most valuable rubies, emeralds, and pearls. The Sultan ordered them to be given to him; but Salabat Khan, the Minister, unwilling that such treasures should be alienated, substituted two strings of mock jewels in their place. Futteh Shah soon discovered this imposition, and complained to the King, who, thereupon ordered all the jewels to be laid out for his inspection. Salabat Khan, however, concealed the most precious, and the King on discovering this, became so angry that he threw all the rest into the fire. His Minister endeavoured to save them, but the pearls were all destroyed. It now became apparent that the Sultan was a mad man, and, indeed, from this time forward he threw off all control. First of all he refused to allow his son Meeran's marriage with the Bijapur Princess, or to send her back again unless Ibrahim Adil Shah would first hand over the fortress of Sholapore, which, it will be remembered, had been given as the dowry of Chand Bibi. This led to a declaration of war from Bijapur. Salabat Khan, recognizing the impossibility of serving a madman, now resigned office, and was sent in honourable confinement to the fort of Rajapur. The new Minister, Kassim Beg, at once concluded peace with Bijapur, and then proceeded to celebrate

the long deferred marriage. The Sultan's madness now took another form, and he conceived an unnatural jealousy of his son, Meeran Hussein, who had just been married. He made the young prince sleep in a room near his own, and then, when he was asleep, set fire to it. The young prince awoke in time, and calling for help was rescued by the favourite Futteh Shah, and made his escape to Dowlatabad. On ascertaining that the victim had escaped, the Sultan was highly enraged, and ordered his Ministers to send orders to have him killed, and when they refused, deposed them from office. The new Minister, Mirza Khan, wrote to Bijapur, and represented how everything was in confusion, owing to the Sultan's insanity, and asked for a despatch of a force to the borders. This request was complied with, and then, under the pretence of meeting this hostile force, Mirza Khan left the city with the available troops. He did not, however, march far, and the historian Ferishta, who was then employed in the Ahmednagar Court, was sent to enquire the reason of the delay. Ferishta soon suspected the treachery, and managing to escape from the Minister's camp, returned to the capital and reported matters to the Sultan. The latter, now thoroughly alarmed, sent for Salabat Khan from his place of confinement. It was, however, too late. Mirza Khan, instead of attacking the Bijapur forces, advanced by forced marches to Dowlatabad, and at once returned with the young prince, Meeran Hussein. Ferishta was appointed to guard the palace, but he says that being deserted by all, he could not do so. The young prince then entered with forty followers, putting all to death who came in his way. Ferishta's life was spared, as he had been a schoolfellow of the prince. But the same mercy was not shown to the Sultan, though bound to him by a closer and holier tie. Ferishta thus relates the last scene:—"Having reached the presence of his father, the prince behaved to him, both in word and action, with every possible insult and abuse.

Nizam Shah was silent, and only looked at him with contempt, till the prince putting his naked sabre across his breast, said: 'I will put you to death.' Nizam Shah, then breathing a deep sigh, exclaimed:—'Oh, thou accursed of God, it would be better for thee to let thy father be for his few remaining days thy guest, and to treat him with respect.' The prince relenting for a moment at this expression, stopped his hand, and withdrew from his father's apartment. Not having patience, however, to wait for his death, though he was then in a mortal illness, he commanded him to be put into a warm bathing-room, and, shutting fast the doors and windows to exclude all air, lighted a great fire under the bath, so that the Sultan was speedily suffocated by the steam and heat. The parricide was perpetrated in the year 996 (1587). The deceased Sultan was buried with great pomp in the garden Roseh; but his bones were afterwards taken up and carried to Kerbella, where they were deposited near those of his father and grandfather.

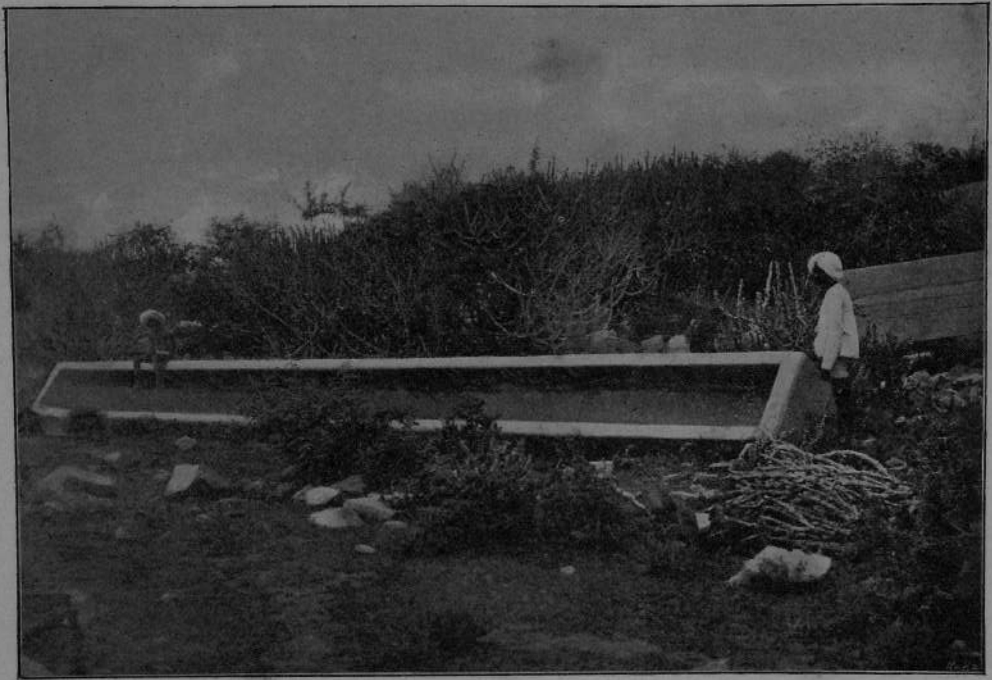
The reign of the new Sultan lasted only two months and three days. Not only did he at once give way to cruelty and debauchery, but the whole country was horrified at the crime by which he had gained the throne. Ferishta appears to have made his escape, together with Queen Chand, and went to Bijapur, where they were gladly received. In the meantime at Ahmednagar there was a revolt against Meeran Shah. The Minister, Mirza Khan, seized his person, and, as mentioned above, cut off his head in public, and sent for the two surviving sons of Boorahan Shah, the brother of the late Sultan Murtaza, one of whom Sultan Ismael, a boy of twelve years of age, was proclaimed. A counter revolt was made by a Deccanee named Jamal Khan and there ensued a terrible riot and massacre. The Deccanees got the best of it, and they at once commenced to slaughter all the foreigners they could find. The Minister, Mirza Khan, managed to escape,

but was caught, brought back, and cut to pieces. Some of his friends were rammed into cannons and blown into the air. Altogether in the space of seven days, nearly a thousand foreigners were murdered. At length, matters quieted down, and Jamal Khan then recognized Ismael as Sultan, and appointed himself as Minister. The usurpation, however, did not last long, Boorahan Shah, the father of Ismael, was then with the Emperor Akbar, who offered to give him an army to retake the throne of his ancestors. Boorahan declined the army as likely to excite the people's jealousy, but went alone in order to see what he could do by his own personal influence. He was at once joined by a large number of nobles, and though at first repulsed, he soon afterwards defeated and killed Jamal Khan. He then entered Ahmednagar, deposed his son Ismael, who was sent into confinement, and ascended the throne in his place (1519).

But we must now revert to Bijapur and the fortunes of Queen Chand.

When Queen Chand returned to Bijapur, after having escaped the massacre at Ahmednagar, she found the position of affairs to be somewhat altered. Sultan Ibrahim was now old enough to take over the conduct of public business himself, and though he still maintained cordial and even affectionate relations with his aunt, the latter very wisely withdrew from any public interference in affairs of State, although in private she gave her advice whenever called upon to do so. Ibrahim was a young man of considerable ability and promise. He had advanced with an army to assist in placing his brother-in-law, Meeran Hussein, on the throne of Ahmednagar, but when he heard of the latter's act of parricide, as related above, he declined all further alliance with him, and leaving him, as he said, to the vengeance of the Almighty, retired to Bijapur (1587). When after a short time, Meeran Hussein himself was assassinated, Ibrahim, taking advantage of the

dissensions at Ahmednagar again advanced with an army. Very little seems to have been done in this campaign, probably owing to the jealousy between the two leading Bijapur Generals, Delawar Khan, the Minister, and Bulleel Khan, who had been recalled from the Malabar district, where he had been engaged with some refractory Rajahs, to assist the main army. Bulleel Khan was favoured by the Sultan, whose object it was to weaken the power of Dilawar Khan. The Minister, on the other hand, endeavoured to cast odium on his rival by representing that if he had shown more energy in the campaign in Malabar, he would have been able to bring more tribute, and a larger contingent to assist in the invasion of Ahmednagar. Bulleel Khan retorted that this was due to the suddenness of his recall, and, throwing himself on the Sultan's mercy, was rewarded by a rich *Khilat*. Dilawar Khan for a moment stifled his resentment, and when the audience was broken up, carried off Bulleel Khan to his own tents in order to celebrate their reconciliation by a splendid feast. Bulleel Khan was thus thrown off his guard, and returned with the army to Bijapur. Arrived there, however, Dilawar Khan threw away the mask of friendship, and suddenly seized his rival without the King's knowledge, and caused him to be blinded. This outrage greatly incensed the Sultan, and though for the time he was unable to resent it, he resolved to get rid of his insolent Minister at the earliest opportunity. This opportunity soon came. In 1589, as already related, Boorahan Nizam Shah, who had taken refuge with the Emperor Akbar, advanced to recover the throne of Ahmednagar, from his son, Ismael, who, as related above, had been proclaimed by Jamal Khan. Jamal Khan advanced to meet the Bijapur troops, and contrary to Ibrahim's orders, Dilawar Khan gave him battle. At first he was successful, but when his followers dispersed to plunder the camp, some of the enemy rallied, and attacking Dilawar Khan who was left with only a few



Elephant trough (43 long × 10 circumference).

followers, compelled him to take flight. In the meantime, the Sultan with the main body of the army had retired, and Dilawar Khan was only able to join him after much difficulty. The Sultan now determined to shake himself free of Dilawar Khan, and for this purpose arranged with Amir-ul-Oomara, Eyn-ul-Mulk, to come over to his camp. This he did one night by stealth, whilst Dilawar Khan (who though more than eighty years of age was not past the pleasures of love) was engaged in amorous dalliance with a "beautiful virgin of Deccan, whom he had long sought after and just obtained." Next morning when too late, Dilawar Khan found that his royal captive had escaped, and at once proceeded to bring him back. He found the Sultan with Eyn-ul-Mulk's forces drawn up behind, and he at once told him that "marching by night was improper," and that he should therefore return The Sultan incensed at his insolence exclaimed: "Who will deliver me from this traitor?" Whereupon one Asout Khan spurred up to the Regent, and struck him with his sabre. The horse reared and threw Dilawar Khan, who, in the confusion that followed managed to escape, leaving his son, Khan, behind, who was taken and put to death. Ibrahim Shah was now for the first time really independent, and news arriving that Boorahan Shah had defeated Jamal Khan, and taken possession of Ahmednagar, he sent him letters of congratulation, and retired to Bijapur.

In the meantime Dilawar Khan had taken refuge with Boorahan Nizam Shah, who, forgetful of the assistance given by the Sultan of Bijapur, employed him to reduce the fort of Sholapur, which for so long had been the subject of contention between the two kingdoms. This led to another war, and the Ahmednagar troops took the initiative, and headed by the traitor Dilawar Khan, marched upon Bijapur. Ibrahim Adil Shah pretended to take no notice of this invasion, and allowed the enemy to advance as far as the river Bhimah,

pretending in the meantime to give himself up to pleasure. In this way Dilawar Khan was misled into thinking that Ibrahim was too weak to oppose him, and when messengers came from his late master offering to take him back into his service, he at once consented, hoping in this way to be restored to his former absolute power. Ibrahim received his former Minister in his capital, but soon disillusioned him by ordering him to be blinded. Dilawar Khan in vain represented that he had come to court solely on his Majesty's assurance of pardon and safety. The Sultan told him that he had only promised him life and property, and that depriving him of sight could effect neither. Accordingly, he was blinded and sent to the fortress of Satara, where he remained a prisoner until he died. Ferishta was an eyewitness of these proceedings, of which he gives a graphic account, the side he was on being that of the Sultan of Bijapur.

Ibrahim Shah having thus rid himself of his rebellious subject, at once marched against the invaders. Boorahan Shah was compelled to retreat, and dissensions breaking out in his camp, was only too glad to sue for peace. This was granted after some delay, on condition that he razed the fortress he had built on the banks of the Bhimah. To this the Sultan had to consent, and, after with his own hands pulling down the first stone, he marched back to Ahmednagar in disgust, "heartily repenting of his unprovoked invasion of the territories of Ibrahim Adil Shah."

Peace being restored at home, Ibrahim Shah turned again to the reduction of the Malabar Rajahs, whom Bulleel Khan had left only partially subdued. The duty was entrusted to Munjum Khan (1593), who succeeded so well that in a short time he had taken the fort of Mysore, which was then in possession of Vencatadri Naick, the brother's son of the late Rama Rajah of Vijayanagar, when he was recalled by news of a fresh rebellion.

It will be remembered that the late Sultan Ali Adil Shah, the husband of Queen Chand, had left no sons but two nephews, the eldest of whom, Ibrahim, succeeded him. The younger of these two, Ismael, was appointed to the Government of Belgaum, where, however, he was kept in a kind of honourable confinement. This restraint becoming irksome, the young prince, having associated several noblemen with him, suddenly seized the fort and proclaimed his independence (Ramzan 9th, 1593). A general revolt now occurred, and for a time it seemed as if Ibrahim would be crushed by his enemies. The old nobleman, Eyn-ul-Mulk, disgusted, probably that he was allowed so little share in the Government, secretly favoured Ismael, under whom he hoped to enjoy more power. Boorahan Nizam Shah, anxious to revenge his former humiliation, also marched an army to assist the pretender, and the noblemen generally espoused his cause. The Hindoo Rajahs also broke into revolt, and the Portuguese, anxious for some excuse to interfere, promised to send a reinforcement to Ismael. But the young Sultan Ibrahim managed to extricate himself from his awkward dilemma with considerable skill. He had an able and courageous adviser in his aunt, Queen Chand, and he resolved to strike the rebels singly before they could effect a junction. Hummeed Khan was despatched with a force to meet Eyn-ul-Mulk, who had now openly joined the young prince at Belgaum. Hummeed Khan pretended to favour the rebellion, and, thus misled, Eyn-ul-Mulk left the protection which the walls of Belgaum afforded, and advanced towards Hummeed Khan without waiting for Boorahan Shah, who was only a few marches distant. He probably thought it more advisable to bring the rebellion to a successful issue by the help of Hummeed Khan, than to be under obligations to the rival King of Ahmednagar. But he was deceived. Preparations were made to receive the supposed rebel Hummeed Khan in a splendid pavilion which was pitched for the

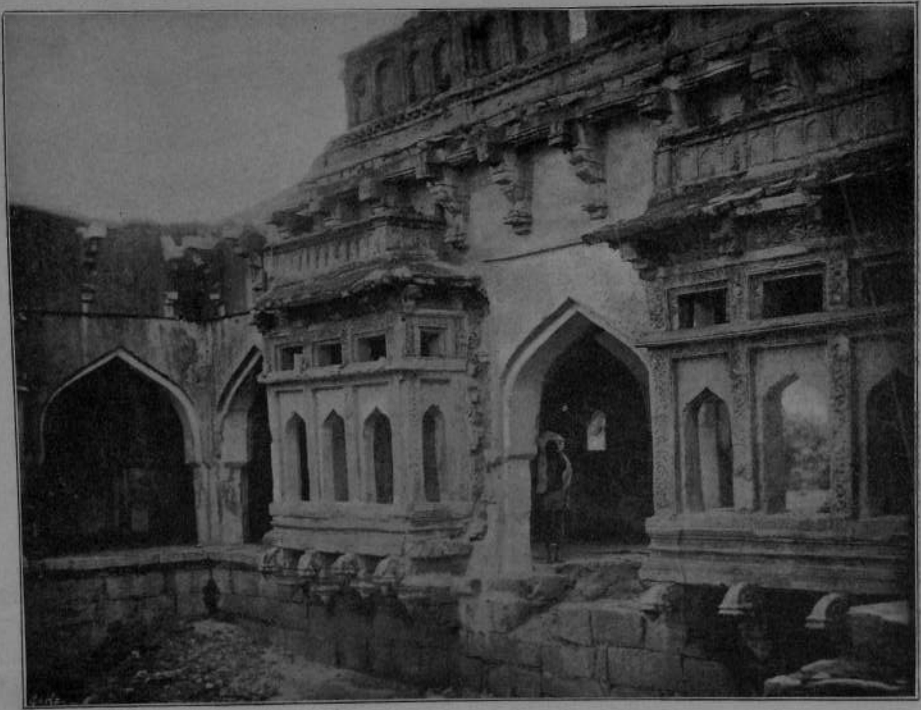
purpose in a large plain some distance from Belgaum. As soon as Hummeed Khan had advanced near enough, he threw off all disguise, and suddenly charging the unsuspecting Eyn-ul-Mulk, threw him from his horse, and cut off his head. The young prince Ismael was also taken prisoner, and then the rebels fled in dismay. Hummeed Khan at once returned to Bijapur, where he was received with great honour, and the head of Eyn-ul-Mulk was blown from the great gun *Malik-i-Maidan* (the Lord of the Plain), Boorahan Nizam Shah hearing that the rebellion had been quelled, thereupon returned to Ahmednagar, where, wasted by illness and the dissensions in his country, he soon afterwards died (1594). Boorahan Shah was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, who signalized his accession to the throne by treating the Bijapur ambassadors with such rudeness that they returned to their own country. This affront led to another war, and Ibrahim Adil Shah at once marched with an army to avenge the insult. The two armies met on the frontiers, and a very hotly contested battle ensued, in which the Ahmednagar forces were at first successful, the left wing of the Bijapureans being broken and put to flight. The right wing, however, commanded by Hummeed Khan, stood their ground with such obstinacy that the tide of battle turned, and the young Ahmednagar King rashly advancing with only a small retinue was surprised by a troop of the Bijapur horse, and killed by an arrow, upon which the Admednagar army took to flight.

The death of Ibrahim Nizam Shah created the utmost confusion in Ahmednagar. Two factions arose, each proclaiming a rival king. One of these was Bahadur Shah, the infant son of Ibrahim, and the other was Ahmed Shah, a boy twelve years of age, who, it was pretended, was the grandson of Hussein Nizam Shah's brother. Mian Manju was then at the head of affairs, and was the protector of the young pretender Ahmed Shah. On it being proved that Ahmed had no claim

to royal descent, a third faction put forward another infant as the rightful heir of Ibrahim, and Mian Manju, thereupon despairing of bringing about a restoration of order, sent a message to Prince Murad, Akbar's son, who was then in Guzerat, waiting for an opportunity to interfere in Deccan affairs, to come to his assistance. Murad was only too glad to accept the invitation, and marched with an army of thirty thousand men, with the ostensible object of placing Ahmed on the throne, but with the real intention of annexing Ahmednagar to the Delhi Empire. But before he could reach the capital, Mian Manju repented of his venture, and after consulting with the chief noblemen, it was resolved to ask Queen Chand to undertake the Regency and to defend the State from Murad and the Mogul army. Chand Bibi must have been at that time nearly fifty years of age, and was happy in Bijapur, where she was beloved by all. But she was a Princess of Ahmednager by birth, and she immediately responded to the call that was made upon her, though it involved the taking up of a post surrounded by danger. She at once set off for Ahmednagar, and when she had taken charge of the State, Mian Manju started for Golconda and Bijapur to endeavour to obtain help. In the meantime, the toils closed round the city of Ahmednagar, but it had a noble defender in Queen Chand. This courageous woman at once placed the city in a proper state of defence, and at the same time proclaimed the infant Bahadur as King. Murad invested the city and actively commenced to push the siege, but in spite of his large train of artillery, he was able to accomplish very little. The kings of Golconda and Bijapur had now become thoroughly alarmed, and despatched armies to raise the siege, and Murad hearing that these reinforcements were on the way, resolved to attempt a storm before their arrival. "In a few days fire mines were carried under the bastions on one face of the fort, all were charged with powder, and built

with mortar and stones, excepting where the train was to be laid, and it was resolved to fire them on the following morning (20th February 1596). During the night Kwaja Mahomed Khan Shirazi, admiring the resolution of the besieged, and unwilling that they should be sacrificed, made his way to the walls, and informed them of their danger. At the instance of Chand Bibi, who herself set the example, the garrison immediately began to countermine. By daylight they had destroyed two of the mines, and were searching for the others, when the prince, without communication with Khan Khanam, ordered out the line, and resolved to storm without him. The besieged were in the act of removing the powder from the third and largest mine, when the prince ordered them to be sprung. Many of the counterminers were killed and several yards of the wall fell. When the breach was made, several of the leading officers of the garrison prepared for flight. But Chand Bibi, clad in armour, and with a veil thrown over her face, and with a drawn sword in her hand, dashed forward to defend the breach. The fugitives to a man returned and joined her, and as the storming party held back for the other mines, the besieged had time to throw rockets, powder, and other combustibles into the ditch, and to bring guns to bear upon the breach." * From the early morning until sundown, the heroic Queen remained in the breach, encouraging her soldiers and endeavouring to repair the damage. For some reason or other, the general assault was delayed until the afternoon, by which time the defenders were better prepared to resist it, but from about two o'clock until sunset force after force of Moguls was hurled against the breach to be each time repulsed, until the moat was filled with the bodies of the slain. Throughout the whole of this desperate attack, Queen Chand was foremost amongst the defenders.

* *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. XVII., by James Campbell.



Ladies Bath.

Her green-veil was seen everywhere, and her voice was heard, calling out in its shrill treble her late husband's battle cry. At length, as darkness set in, the Moguls, repulsed in each attack, had to retire discomfited, and by next morning the breach had been repaired and rendered impracticable. Prince Murad, finding that his assault had failed, and that the reinforcements were within a day's march, now resolved to raise the siege. He first sent ambassadors to the Queen, who were ordered to compliment her on her heroic defence, and to inform her that in future the Imperial Forces would style her a Sultana or Queen, instead of Begum as before, and at the same time to request a truce for burying the dead. This was granted, and after it had expired, a regular treaty was drawn up, under which Prince Murad agreed to retire on receiving the cession of the Sovereignty of Berar. At first Queen Chand refused these terms, but eventually she consented, and Prince Murad, whose army was weakened, not only by want of provisions, but also by internal dissensions, withdrew to take possession of his new acquisition, which gave to the Delhi Emperors their first firm footing in the Deccan. Soon afterwards Prince Murad died from the effects of hard drinking, and for three years Ahmednagar remained unmolested by the Moguls.

No sooner had the invaders retired, than dissensions broke out amongst the Ahmednagar people. Main Manju was in favour of young Ahmed being recognized Sultan, but the Queen would have no one but Bahadur, the infant son of the late Sultan. In order to settle this dispute, the Queen sent for her nephew, Ibrahim Adil Shah, of Bijapur, who soon arrived with a sufficient force to keep the peace between the two factions. A lengthened enquiry was then held, and on it being proved that Ahmed Shaw was not a lineal descendent of the Nizam Shah's family, an estate was settled upon him, and Bahadur was placed upon the throne. For a short time

there was now peace in Ahmednagar and Queen Chand turned her attention to the restoration of the affairs of the kingdom. But she was not fated to complete the reforms she commenced, for in 1597, war again broke out with the Moguls in consequence of encroachments made by them. Prince Daniyal had succeeded his brother Murad as Governor of the Deccan, and his policy was to take advantage of every opportunity to reduce, and if possible to annex, Ahmednagar. But before the final struggle with the Moguls took place, Queen Chand had again to call in the assistance of her nephew, Ibrahim, of Bijapur, against her turbulent subjects in Ahmednagar. He at once complied, and sent Soheil Khan with a considerable force, and with orders to place himself entirely at the Queen's disposal. Mahomed Khan, the Queen's Minister, against whom chiefly this force was intended, refused to admit it into the citadel, and despatched a letter to the Mogul Commander-in-Chief in Berar, offering if he would come to his help to hold the country as a vassal of the Emperor of Delhi. This piece of treachery, however, became known to the garrison, who then seized Mahomed Khan, and handed him over to the Queen. In this way the Queen's authority was restored, but unfortunately the invitation to the Moguls was only too readily accepted. A Mogul force was sent to seize the town of Paithri, which had not been included in the Berar Concession, and thereupon Soheil Khan was ordered by his master to recapture it. In this expedition he was assisted by an army from Golconda, the Sultan of which had begun to be alarmed by the close neighbourhood of the Delhi army. The allied force consisted of no less than 60,000 cavalry, besides infantry, and the engagement that ensued was a decisive one for the fate of the Deccan. The battle was fought on the banks of the Godavery, not far from the town of Sonpat. The Delhi forces were commanded by the Khan Khanan, assisted by the redoubtable old warrior, Raja Ali Khan, of Khandeish,

by Raja Jaganath, and other Hindoo subsidiaries. Abu-l-Fazl * thus describes the battle:—

"The army of Nizam-ul-Mulk (Ahmednagar) was in the centre; the Adil Khan's (Bijapur) was on the right; and the army of Kutb-ul-Mulk on the left. On the 21th Bahaman (26th January, 1597), after the first watch of the day the River Godavery was passed, and the battle began by an attack on the right wing of the enemy. But they held their ground firmly in a strong position, and kept up a heavy fire. Great bravery was exhibited on both sides, and a long and desperate struggle was maintained. The enemy was numerous, and the superiority of his fire checked the Imperial ranks, and made them waver. Jaganath and several other Rajputs drew rein, and did not move, while the Adil Khan troops made an onslaught upon Raja Ali Khan of Khandeish. He made a stubborn resistance and fell fighting bravely, with thirty-five distinguished officers and five hundred devoted followers.

"Mirza Shah Rukh and Khan Khanan had been successful in their part of the field, so also had Saijid Kasim and other leaders. The enemy was under the impression that the Ruler of Khandeish was in the centre and thought that Mirza Shah Rukh and Khan Khanan were involved in his defeat. During the darkness of the night, the opposing forces remained separate from each other, each supposing that it had gained a victory. In the course of the night many of the scattered troops rejoined their standard. Under the impression that Raja Ali Khan had gone over to the enemy, the imperial troops plundered his baggage. Dwarka Das, of the advance and Said Jalal, of the left, retired to Nilawi. Ram Chandar, who fought bravely and had received twenty wounds with the forces under Raja Ali Khan, remained among the wounded during the night, and died a few days after.

* Elliot and Dowson., Vol. VI., page 95.

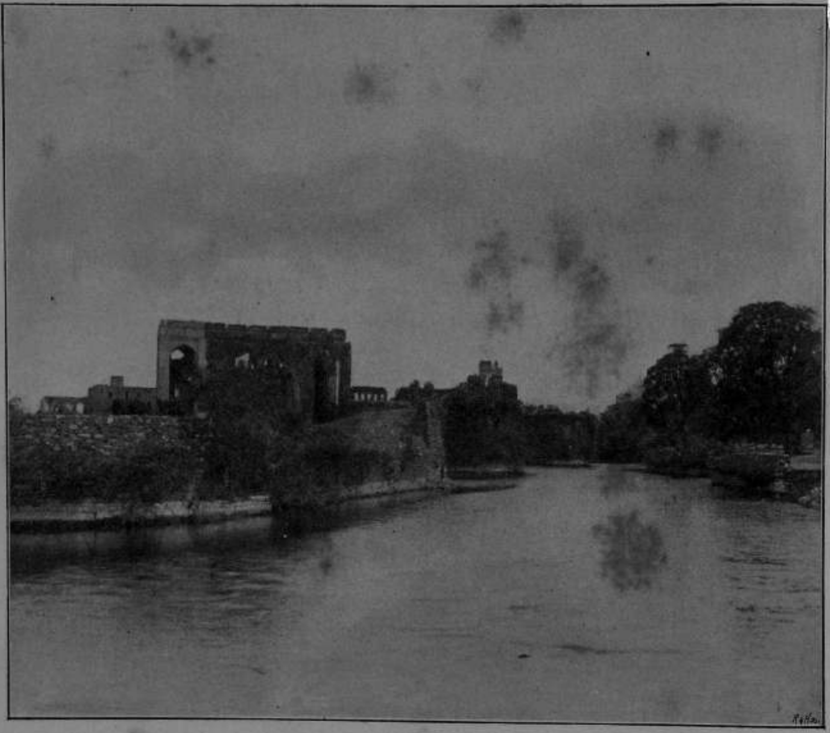
"When morning came the Imperial Forces 7000 in number, found themselves in face of 25,000 of the enemy. They had all night suffered from thirst, and they now carried the river Sugam. The enemy was only half-hearted, and being dismayed by this demonstration, took to flight and made but little resistance * * * Worn out by the protracted conflict, the imperial Forces were unable to pursue. At the beginning of the campaign the imperial Forces numbered only 15,000, while the enemy were 60,000 in number. Still they had gained victory and had captured forty elephants and much artillery."

This quotation has been given at some length as a good specimen of the manner in which Deccanee warfare was conducted. The troops were, no doubt, brave, but very undisciplined. Though outnumbering their opponents, they were unable to take advantage of their first successes, owing to their want of cohesion and discipline. The extract is also important, as showing the support which Akbar's wise rule received from the Rajputs, who formed the flower of his army. It was only Aurungzebe's subsequent bigotry and intolerance that alienated this hardy race of soldiers.

After this defeat, the allied army dispersed, and Nehang Khan and the Ahmednagar Minister and General retired to the capital, where he formed a plan to seize Queen Chand and the young King. The Queen, however, shut the gates of the citadel against him, and refused to allow him to enter. Whilst Ahmednagar was thus torn by civil war, the Imperial Troops were steadily advancing. They were now commanded by Prince Daniyal and the Khan Khanan (1599). Nehang Khan fled to Junar, and the Imperialists then invested Ahmednagar, and the unfortunate Queen had to sustain another siege. And now unfortunately the garrison was divided in itself. A portion wished to fight the matter out to the bitter end, but the Queen seeing the hopelessness of resistance was

inclined to make terms by again confirming the treaty made with Prince Murad at the previous siege. Her idea was to give up the fort, and retire with the young King to Junar. Hamid Khan, one of the principal officers in the fort, and the head of the opposite faction, came to know of this, and at once ran into the streets exclaiming that the Queen wished to betray the people. The excitable and turbulent soldiers of Ahmednagar, forgetting all the noble devotion which Queen Chand had always shown, at once assembled in front of the palace. Headed by Hamid Khan they rushed inside, sword in hand, and not finding the Queen in the audience hall, they broke open the private apartment. There they were confronted by this courageous woman who was undismayed, though she saw that the end had come. Too excited to listen to her, the crowds rushed on, and Hamid Khan cut her down, and so died Chand Bibi, one of the noblest characters in the History of India.

Deprived of its courageous defender, the fort of Ahmednagar did not hold out much longer. In a few days the mines were sprung, and the garrison making but a feeble resistance, the fort was easily carried. A scene of indiscriminate slaughter then took place, the treasury was pillaged, and the young King Bahadur was taken and sent to the Emperor Akbar, who was then at Burhanpore. Bahadur was subsequently sent to the fortress of Gwalior, where he remained in honourable confinement until his death. From this time (1599), we hear nothing more of the independence of the Kingdom of Ahmednagar. The Moguls had now taken firm footing in the Deccan, and the beginning of the end had commenced.



CITADEL AND MOAT. BIJAPUR.

CHAPTER XX.

RETROSPECTIVE SKETCH OF THE DECCAN.

Before leaving Ahmednagar, which now disappears from all independent share in the history of Deccan affairs, a slight sketch of the civil administration of the kingdom under the Nizam Shahi Kings will not be out of place, and I cannot do better than quote from Mr. Campbell:—

"The Ahmednagar dominions extended over the greater part of Berar, and the whole of what was afterwards included in

the *Subha* of Aurungabad, Jalna, and some other districts in Nassik and Khandeish, and the district of Kalyan in the Konkan from Bankot to Bassein. Under the Ahmednagar Kings, though perhaps less regularly than afterwards under the Moguls, the country was divided into districts or *sirkars*. The district was distributed among sub-divisions, which were generally known by Persian names, *pargana, karyát, sammat, mahal, taluka*, and sometimes by the Hindu names of *prant* and *desh*. The hilly west, which was generally managed by Hindoo officers, continued to be arranged by valleys with their Hindoo names, *Khora, Mura*, and *Marval*. The collection of revenue was generally entrusted to farmers, the farms sometimes including one village. Where the revenue was not farmed, its collection was generally entrusted to Hindoo officers. Over the revenue farmers was a Government agent or *Amil*, who, besides collecting the revenue, managed the police and settled the civil suits. Civil suits relating to land were generally settled by juries or *panchayets*. Though the chief power in the country was Mahomedan, large numbers of Hindoos were employed in the service of the State. The garrison of hill forts seem generally to have been commanded by Hindoos, Marathas, Kolis, and Dhangars, a few places of special strength being reserved for Mahomedan commandants, or *killedars*. Besides the hill forts, some parts of the open country were left under loyal Maratha and Brahmin officers with the title of estate holder or *jaghirdar*, and of district head or *Deshmukh*. Estates were generally granted on military tenure, the value of the grant being in proportion to the number of troops which the grant-holder maintained. Family feuds or personal hate, and, in the case of those whose lands lay near the borders of two kingdoms, an intelligent regard for the chances of war often divided Maratha families, and led members of one family to take service under rival Musulman States. Hindoos of distinguished service were rewarded with the

Hindoo titles of *raja*, *naick*, and *rav* or *rao*. Numbers of Hindoos were employed in the Ahmednagar armies." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xvii.)

In the same year as Ahmednagar fell, an incident occurred which was destined to have a most important effect upon Indian history. During the Holi festival of that year (March-April), a Maratha, named Majoli Bhonsla, who commanded a small body of Silledar horse, took his son, Shahji, a boy of five, to pay his respects to his commanding officer, Lukhji Jadhavrao. Lukji's little daughter, Jiji, a child of three, was present, and whilst the elders were talking, the two children began to play together. Lukhji asked his daughter in joke: "How would you like that boy for your husband?" and on the girl saying "Yes," Majoli at once rose and called the guests to witness that Lukhji had offered his daughter in marriage to his son Shahji, which offer he, as Shahji's father, accepted. Taken thus at his word, Lukhji and his wife were exceedingly angry, but Maloji remained unshaken, and eventually (1604) the marriage really took place. The issue of this marriage was the great Sivaji, the founder of the Maratha nation. Mr. Campbell, whom I have quoted above says (*ibid*) that Lukhji's objections were overcome by purchasing from "a falling court like that of Ahmednagar," a command of 5,000 and the title of Rajah for Maloji, and that then, Lukhji having no longer any excuse "for not performing what he was urged to by his sovereign," consented to the marriage. The passage is quoted word for word from Grant Duff's "History of the Marathas" (vol I., p. 78), but it is clearly an error, for, as we have seen, there was no longer a sovereign at Ahmednagar in 1604, to give or to withhold promotion. What seems most probable is that Malòji, in the interval between 1599 and 1604, did good service for the Moguls, and received his promotion from them for assisting them in the settlement of their new conquest. The story of Sivaji has,

however, been so exhaustively told by the great historian Grant Duff, that it is out of our province to go into it here, and the incident is only alluded to as marking an important epoch in the history of the Deccan. We shall, of course, frequently come across Sivaji, in the future course of our history, but except as far as he is brought into contact with Bijapur, it is not proposed to recapitulate what has already been so well told.

To return to Ibrahim Adil Shah at Bijapur. After the catastrophe at Ahmednagar, the Sultan took but little active share in the affairs of the Deccan. Alarmed at the growing power of the Moguls, he made overtures to the Emperor Akbar, and an alliance was agreed upon, one of the conditions of which was that he should give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor's son, Daniyal. An ambassador was sent by Akbar to bring the Princess, but he remained so long at Bijapur that another, Asad Beg, was sent to bring him and the Princess back, with orders to stay at Bijapur only one night. The Princess seems to have been very reluctant to enter upon this marriage, and when at length she was despatched with the ambassador, accompanied also by the historian Ferishta, together with rich presents, she managed one night to escape from her guardians in order to return to her father. In the morning, however, she was caught and was eventually safely handed over to her husband. At this time Bijapur must have been at the height of its splendour and magnificence. Asad Beg, coming from Delhi, where Akbar's court was at the summit of its grandeur, speaks most enthusiastically of the Southern city. His description is worthy of being quoted, as it is not likely to be tinged with any partiality.—*

"That palace, which they called Hajjah, was so arranged that each house in it had a double court. Where there are

* Elliot and Dowson, vol. vi., p. 163, *et seq.*

two courts they call it in those parts Hajjah. All round the gate of my residence were lofty buildings with houses and porticos; the situation was very airy and healthy. It lies in an open space in the city. Its northern portico is to the east of a *bazaar* of great extent, as much as thirty yards wide and two *kos* (four miles) long. Before each shop was a beautiful green tree, and the whole bazaar was extremely clean and pure. It was filled with rare goods, such as are not seen or heard of in any other town. There were shops of cloth sellers, jewellers, armourers, vintners, bakers, fishmongers and cooks. To give some idea of the whole bazaar I will describe a small section in detail. In the jewellers' shops were jewels of all sorts, wrought into a variety of articles, such as daggers, knives, mirrors, necklaces and alse into the form of birds, such as parrots, doves, and peacocks, &c., all studded with valuable jewels, and arranged upon shelves, rising one above the other. By the side of this shop will be a baker's with rare viands placed in the same manner upon tiers of shelves. Further on a linen draper's with all kinds of cloths shelved in like manner. Then a clothier's. Then a spirit-merchant's with various sort of China vessels, valuable crystal bottles, and costly cups, filled with choice and rare essences arranged on shelves, while in front of the shop were jars of double-distilled spirits. Beside that shop will be a fruiterer's filled with all kinds of fruit and sweetmeats, such as pistachio nuts and relishes, and sugarcandy and almonds. On another side may be a wine merchant's shop, and an establishment of singers and dancers, beautiful women adorned with various kinds of jewels, and fair faced choristers, all ready to perform whatever may be desired of them. In short, the whole bazaar was filled with wine and beauty, dancers, perfumes, jewels of all sorts, palaces, and viands. In one street were a thousand bands of people drinking, and dancers, lovers, and pleasure-seekers assembled; none quarrelled or disputed with another,

and this state of things was perpetual. Perhaps no place in the wide world could present a more wonderful spectacle to the eye of the traveller."

At Bijapur Asad Beg for the first time came across tobacco. "Never having seen the like in India, I brought some with me, and prepared a handsome pipe of jewel work. The stem, the finest to be procured at Achin, was three cubits in length, beautifully dried and coloured, both ends being adorned with jewels and enamel. I happened to come across a very handsome mouth-piece of Yaman cornelian, oval shaped, which I set to the stem; the whole was very handsome. There was also a golden burner for lighting it as a proper accompaniment. Adil Khan had given me a betel bag of very superior workmanship: this I filled with fine tobacco, such that if one leaf be lit, the whole will continue burning. I arranged all elegantly on a silver tray. I had a silver tube made to keep the stem in, and that too was covered with purple velvet." Then follows a very amusing description of the Emperor's reception of this novel present. Akbar ordered Asad Beg to prepare and give him a pipeful, but no sooner had he begun to smoke, than the physician approached and forbad him to do so. Then followed a discussion between the druggist, the physician and at last the priest. The general verdict of these learned men was against the use of tobacco as being an unknown thing, and, therefore, unfitting for his Majesty to try. Asad Beg said: "The Europeans are not so foolish as not to know all about it; there are wise men among them who seldom err or commit mistakes. How can you, before you have tried a thing, and found out all its qualities, pass a judgment on it that can be depended on by the physicians, kings, great men and nobles? Things must be judged of by their good or bad qualities, and the decision must be according to the facts of the case." The physician replied: "We do not want to follow the Europeans, and adopt a custom which is not sanctioned by our own wise

men without a trial." I said: "It is a strange thing, for every custom in the world has been new at one time or the other; from the days of Adam until now, they have gradually been invented. When a new thing is introduced among peoples and becomes well-known in the world, everyone adopts it; wise men and physicians should determine according to the good or bad qualities of a thing; the good qualities may not appear at once. Thus the China root, not known anciently, has been newly discovered, and is useful in many diseases." This answer so pleased Akbar that he gave Asad Beg his blessing, and said: "Did you hear how wisely Asad spoke? Truly, we must not reject a thing that has been adopted by the wise men of other nations merely because we cannot find it in our books; or how shall we progress?" The result was that the noblemen of Delhi took kindly to the new practice of smoking, but his Majesty, we are told, 'did not adopt it.'

After Asad Beg's vivid description of the charms of Bijapur one can understand why it was that the first ambassador from Delhi was so reluctant to come away, and why Asad had been ordered not to stop longer than one night. It is said that his predecessor, Jamal-ud-Din, was paid by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda at the rate of £ 105,000 to £ 140,000 a year, and this probably accounts for the reason why he spent three years in the Deccan, and why Asad's orders were so peremptory. The message which he tells us he was directed to give to Jamal-ud-Din was very significant: "If thou dost not return to Court with Asad, thou shalt see what will happen to thee and thy children." This had the desired effect, and the two ambassadors returned together. Asad Beg had been so successful in his mission that he was sent to the Deccan a second time, on which occasion Akbar is reported to have said: "You went before, in great discomfort to fetch Mir Jamal-ud-Din and the daughter of Adil Khan and the presents, because it was necessary. But this time you must go in

state to the four provinces of the Deccan, and remain in each place so long as may be necessary, to collect whatever they may have of fine elephants and rare jewels throughout their dominions, to bring back with you. Their money you may keep. I want nothing but their choice and rare elephants and jewels. You must secure things of this kind for the Government, the rest I give to you. You must not relax your effort as long as there is one fine elephant or rare jewel out of your grasp in the Deccan." How Asad fared in this embassy we are not told, for soon afterwards the great Emperor died, but the instructions give a very clear idea of the tributary state to which the Sultans of the Deccan had by this time been reduced. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole estimates that at the accession of Aurungzebe the tribute from the Deccan amounted to about ten crores of rupees (say £ 10,000,000 (Aurungzebe, p. 128). This sum divided between Golconda and Bijapur, which were the only two independent kingdoms left, would amount to a considerable impost, but it is probable that is was very irregularly paid, especially towards the latter end of the seventeenth Century.

Ibrahim Adil Shah lived until 1626, and during his time Bijapur was at the height of its glory. Ibrahim was a great patron of architecture, and some of the finest buildings in Bijapur arose during his reign. His tomb, the Ibrahim Roza, is a splendid group of buildings, which, according to Mr. Fergusson, is more elaborately adorned than any in India. It was commenced soon after Ibrahim's accession to the throne and took thirty-six years to complete, and according to an inscription, the cost was 1,50,900 *huns*, or about £ 52,815; this, however, represents only the cash expenditure, since the workmen, as pointed out in the *Gazetteer* (vol. xxiii. p. 611), were probably paid in grain. Ibrahim is said to have been a man of learning and taste, and though the first years of his reign were stormy, the latter were spent in almost

profound peace. When he died he left a full treasury, a flourishing country, and an army whose strength is stated at 80,000 horse and upwards of 200,000 foot. His memory is cherished as one of the best of the Bijapur kings (*ibid*). The noble example of Queen Chand, who was the guardian of the King's youth, no doubt left a deep impression upon him, and he himself has left a poem in which he praises her virtues, which is full of love and gratitude to her memory. We reproduce it here as translated by Mr. H. F. Silcock, C.S.:—

In the gardens of the blest, where the happy *houris* dwell,
In the palaces of men, where earth's fairest ones are seen,
There is none who can compare in beauty or in grace
With the noble Chand Sultana, Bijapur's beloved Queen.
Though in battle's dreadful turmoil her courage never failed,
In the softer arts of peace she was gentle and serene,
To the feeble tender-hearted, to the needy ever kind,
Was the noble Chand Sultana, Bijapur's beloved Queen.
As the *champak* flower in fragrance is the sweetest flower that blows,
As the cypress trees in form all other trees excel,
So in disposition tender, in beauty without peer,
Was that gracious Queen whose praise no human tongue can tell.
In memory of that mother who with watchful tender care
Ever guarded her poor orphan in a weary troubled land,
I, Ibrahim the Second, these feeble lines indite
To the honour of that Princess, the noble Lady Chand.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE STORY OF MALICK AMBER.

At the time of the fall of Ahmednagar, one Malick Amber was the Governor of Dowlatabad. Malick, or Sidi Amber, as he is often called, had been originally an Abyssinian slave. He was a man of considerable talents, especially in administrative matters. During the time of Queen Chand he was her faithful deputy, and when the Queen was murdered, and the capital fell, he remained faithful to the old dynasty, and proclaimed Murtaza II, grandson of the second Nizam Shah, to be the King. The new King fixed his capital at Kirki, a city which had been founded by Malick Amber, and which is now known as Aurangabad. Malick Amber was the Regent and virtual ruler of what portion of the kingdom was left. It is probable that at first this little kingdom consisted of but one or two districts with which the Moguls in Ahmednagar did not think it worth their while to interfere, as they had sufficient to do in settling the western portion of the kingdom. In 1607, Malick Amber placed the King Murtaza into confinement, where he remained for the next nineteen years; and then declared his independence, ruling the country that was left in his own name. His rule appears to have been a wise and able one, and especially so as regards revenue

matters. He made a thorough survey and settlement of the country under his charge, which remained in force until the middle of this century, and his name is still highly-spoken of as the founder of the country's prosperity. The country itself is very rich and fertile, and consists for the most part of the valley of the Upper Godavery. Circumstances favoured Malick Amber, for soon after his accession to power dissensions broke out amongst the Moguls. Soon after Jehangir's accession, his son, Sultan Khusroo, revolted. This took away the attention of the Emperor for some time from the affairs of the Deccan, and by the time he had quelled the revolt, Amber had managed to make himself so strong that he was never really conquered. Gradually he extended his possessions until they reached within eight miles of the fort of Ahmednagar to the west; and to Bieder on the east, whilst in the south they bordered on the Bijapur country. Malick Amber was the Emperor Jehangir's especial object of detestation. He frequently mentions him in his memoirs, but scarcely ever without some adjective of abuse, such as "black-faced," "wretch," or "cursed fellow." Numerous expeditions were sent against him, but though he was sometimes defeated, he was never conquered, and he was as often successful as not. In 1609, Jehangir recalled the Khan Khanan on account of the mismanagement of affairs in the Deccan. Jehangir in his diary thus summarises the state of affairs at that time:—"From the time of the conquest of Ahmednagar by my late brother Daniyal to the present time, the place had been under the command of Khwaja Beg Mirza Safawi, a relation of Shah Tahmasp, of Persia; but since their late successes, the Deccanees had invested the town. Every effort was made to defend the place, and Khan Khanan and the other *Amirs* who were with Prince Parwez at Burhanpur marched forth to relieve it. Through the jealousies and dissensions of the leaders, and from want of supplies, the army was conducted

by inproper roads, through mountains and difficult passes, and in a short time it was disorganized, and so much in want of food that it was compelled to retreat. The hopes of the garrison were fixed on this force, and its retreat filled them with fear. They desired to evacuate the place. Khwaja Beg Mirza did his best to console and encourage them; but in vain, so he capitulated on terms and retired with his men to Burhanpur. When the despatches arrived, and I found that the Khwaja had fought bravely and done his best, I promoted him to a *mansab* of 5,000 and gave him a suitable Jagir." * A letter written to Jehangir at this time by Khan Jehan, the Second-in-Command, shows the state of affairs:—"All the disasters have happened through the bad management of the Khan Khanan. Either confirm him in his command or recall him to court, and appoint me to perform the service. If 30,000 horse are sent as a reinforcement, I will undertake in the course of two years to recover the Imperial territory from the enemy, to take Kandahar, and other fortresses on the frontier, and to make Bijapur a part of the Imperial dominions. If I do not complish this in the period named, I will never show my face at court again." This suggestion was adopted, and the Khan Khanan was recalled, Khan Jehan being appointed in his place. It does not appear that Khan Jehan was able to fulfill all his promises; he did so, no doubt, in part, but as for reducing the whole of the Ahmednagar country, let alone Bijapur, we find the latter left untouched, and in the former Amber was as strong as ever. In 1612, Jehangir speaks of the defeat of another Imperial expedition in a battle fought near Dowlatabad. Jehangir thus notices it: "Amber the black-faced, who had placed himself in command of the enemy, continually brought up re-inforcements till he had assembled a large force, and he constantly annoyed

* Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI., p. 323.

Abdullah with rockets and various kinds of fiery missiles, till he reduced him to a sad condition. So, as the Imperial force had received no reinforcement, and the enemy was in great force, it was deemed expedient to retreat, and prepare for a new campaign." This was done, and soon afterwards proposals of peace were made by the Deccanees, which appear to have been accepted. Two years afterwards an attempt was made to assassinate Malick Amber, which, however, failed, and the Emperor in recording it adds:—"A very little more would have made an end of this cursed fellow." In the same year (tenth of the reign = 1616), we find a victory recorded over the army of the "wretched" Amber:—"Some good officers and a body of *Bargis* (Mahrattas), a very hardy race of people, who are great movers of opposition and strife, being offended with Amber desired to become subjects of my throne. * * * Having thus brought them in to the interests of the throne, Shah Sarvar Khan marched with them from Balapur against Amber. On their way they were opposed by an army of the Deccanees: but they soon defeated it, and drove the men in panic to the camp of Amber. In his vanity and pride, he resolved to hazard a battle with my victorious army. To his own forces he united the armies of Adil Khan and Kutb-ul-Mulk, and with a train of artillery, he marched to meet the royal army, until he came within five or six *koss* of it" (*ibid*, p. 344). A hotly contested engagement ensued, which resulted in the total defeat of the Deccanees, and the flight of the 'black-faced' Amber, who left his capital Kirki to be occupied by the Imperialists. After this defeat, Malick Amber sued for peace, which was granted, and the Imperial troops withdrew, but they had no sooner withdrawn than another outbreak occurred. Jehangir had gone to Cashmere, and Malick Amber thinking this a favourable opportunity, made an inroad into the Berars, and shut the Imperial garrison up in Burhanpur. The rebels remained for six months in this part of the country,

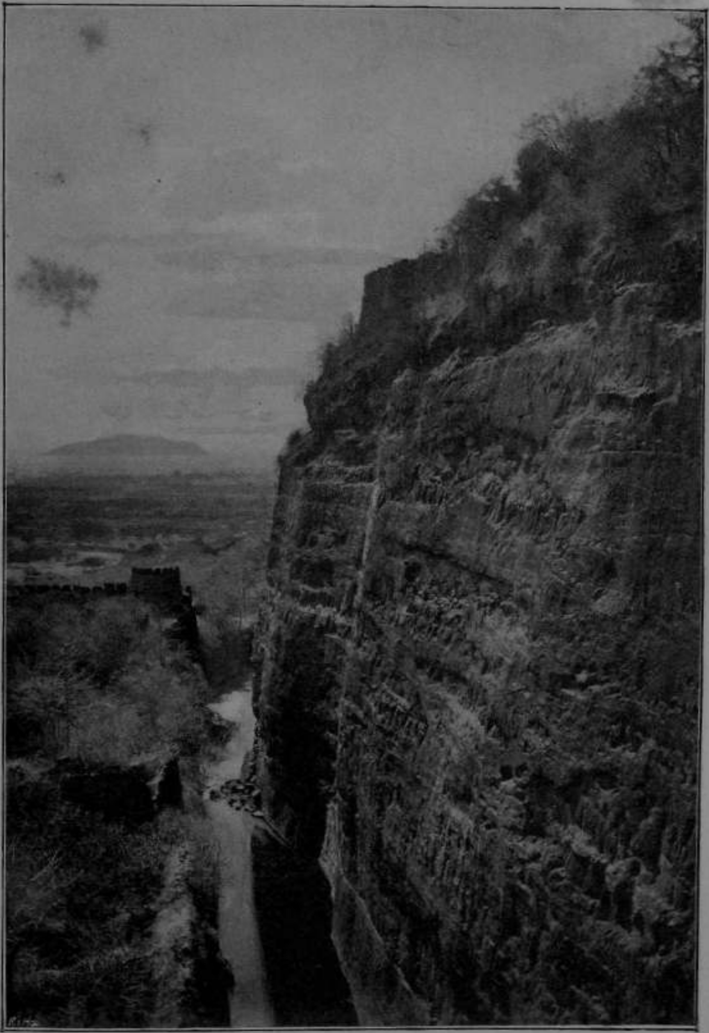
and annexed several districts of Berar and Khandeish. Matters were in so critical a state, that Prince Shah Jehan was sent to reconquer the Deccan. At first (1621) he was successful. Kirki was invested and taken, and so destroyed "that the town which had taken twenty years to build will hardly recover its splendour for another twenty years." Amber now again had to submit, and was compelled to cede fourteen *koss* (28 miles) of Imperial territory and pay an indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees. In 1622, Shah Jehan broke into rebellion, and Amber seems to have given him very considerable assistance. For the next three years this rebellion continued, and operations were at first conducted in the Deccan. Amber profited by the confusion to annex fresh territory, and pushed on his boundaries to within a short distance of Ahmednagar. In 1623, Shah Jehan was beaten and compelled to raise the siege of Burhanpur, upon which he left the Deccan, and the Imperialists were able to pay attention to Malick Amber. The following quotation from Mutamad Khan (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI., pp. 414-15) shows how important a person Malick Amber had become:—"Malick Amber proceeded to the frontiers of Kutb-ul-Mulk, to receive the annual payment of his army, which was now two years in arrears. After receiving it, and making himself secure on that side by a treaty and oath, he proceeded towards Bieder. There he found the forces of Adil Khan, who were in charge of that country, unprepared, so he attacked them unawares and plundered the city. From thence he marched against Bijapur. Adil Khan had sent his best troops and officers along with Mulla Mahomed Lari to Burhanpur (to assist the Imperial Forces), and not deeming himself strong enough to resist the assailant, he shut himself up in the fortress of Bijapur, and doing all he could to secure the place, he sent a messenger to recall Mahomed Lari and his forces." Sarbuland Rai was the Imperial Governor at Burhanpur, and he at once allowed Mahomed Lari to return, sending with him a large

portion of his army. Amber now raised the siege of Bijapur, and retreated to his own country, but was followed by the combined Adil Khani and his Imperial troops. Amber, hardly pressed, was at length compelled to give battle about ten miles from Ahmednagar. Mahomed Lari, who commanded the Bijapur troops, was killed, and his fall throwing his followers into confusion, Malick Amber obtained a complete victory. "Malick Amber, successful beyond his hopes, sent his prisoners to the fortress of Dowlatabad, and marched to lay siege to Ahmednagar. But although he brought up his guns and pressed the siege, he met with no success. He, therefore, left a part of his army to complete the investment, whilst he marched against Bijapur. Adil Khan again took refuge in the fortress, and Malick Amber occupied all his territories as far as the frontiers of the Imperial dominions in the Balaghat (Berar). He collected an excellent army and laid siege to Sholapur, which had long been a subject of contention between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Adil Khan. He sent a force against Burhanpur, and having brought up guns from Dowlatabad, he took Sholapur by storm" *(ibid)*. Orders were now sent to the Imperial Forces to stay all further proceedings until the arrival of reinforcements, and until his death, Malick Amber seems to have been supreme in the Deccan. This occurred in 1626, and the same historian whom we have quoted above, thus records it:—"Intelligence now arrived of the death of Amber, the Abyssinian, in the eightieth year of his age, on the 31st Ardebthist. This Amber was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood that predatory warfare, which in the language of the Deccan is called *bargi-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirit of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence."

During the whole of this time (1607-26) the King Murtaza II. had been kept in confinement, chiefly in the fort of Dowlatabad, where he spent his time in drink and sensual excess. Malick Amber left two sons—Futteh Khan and Chenghiz Khan—of whom the former, the elder, succeeded to his father's authority. The King, however, managed to make his escape, in which he was aided by a favourite slave, named Hamid Khan. Futteh Khan was then seized and sent in confinement to the fort of Khiber. Here, however, he did not remain long, but making his escape, he raised the standard of rebellion. Hamid Khan appears to have been an able man, and succeeded in raising an army and again capturing Futteh Khan, who was now confined in the fort of Dowlatabad. Shah Jehan was then on the Delhi throne, having succeeded on 6th February, 1628. Soon after his accession, one of his principal Generals, Khan Jehan, who for some time had been Governor of the Deccan, revolted, and took refuge with Murtaza Shah in Kirki and Dowlatabad. This led to considerable fighting with the Imperial troops, who were sent to capture the rebel, and Khan Jehan at length had to escape to the Punjab. This was in 1630, and in the same year a terrible famine ravaged the Deccan and Guzerat. We are told by Abdul Hamid Lahori (*ibid.* Vol. VII., p. 24), "that the inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the ever bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food, and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment, walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length arrived at such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was prefered to his love. The numbers of the

dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death, and who retained the power to move, wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of production."

During this time Futteh Khan had been in confinement, but through an intrigue by means of his sister, who was in the King's zenana, he not only was released, but was appointed Commander-in-Chief. Futteh Khan, however, felt that this change was only a temporary one. The King Murtaza was now very old, and was given up to all kinds of debauchery. He was surrounded by evil advisers, and so to save himself, Futteh Khan placed his master in the same prison from which he had just been liberated. He then at once entered into correspondence with the Imperial Court, and offered to hold the country as a vassal of Delhi. "In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity he should rid the world of such a worthless and wicked being (Murtaza II.) On receiving this direction, Futteh Khan secretly made away with Nizam Shah, but gave out that he had died a natural death" (*ibid*, Vol. VII., p. 27). Futteh Khan, however, soon repented of what he had done, and placed Hussein, the son of Murtaza, a boy ten years of age, on the throne, and when the ambassadors from Delhi arrived, he refused to hand over the fort. Shah Jehan thereupon sent an army under Mahabut Khan to reduce Dowlatabad. Futteh Khan's change of mind appears to have been caused by the attitude of the Bijapur forces, whom Adil Shah had sent against Dowlatabad, but who now made an arrangement to assist Futteh Khan in its defence, against the Imperialists. Shahjee, who was rapidly becoming a person of importance, appears in this matter on the side of Bijapur, and did good service in harassing the march of the Imperial army. But in spite of all opposition, the post was at last invested, and the siege commenced. The defence



Scarped Rock Dowlatabad Fort.

was a very obstinate one, and when at last the lower fort was taken, Futteh Khan retired with the young King to the upper fort which was held to be impregnable. Abdul Hamid (*ibid*, Vol. vi., p. 41) thus describes it:—"The old name of the fortress of Dowlatabad was Deo-gir, or Dhárágar. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 5,000 legal *gaz*, and the rock all round is scarped so carefully, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a snake or an ant would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a moat forty legal yards (*zara*) in width and thirty depth, cut into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage like the ascent of a minaret, and a light is required there in broad daylight. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this road and way that the fortress is entered. By the passage a large iron brazier had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in the brazier, its heat would effectually prevent all progress. The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, &c., are of no avail against it." But in spite of the strength of the fort, Futteh Khan saw that further resistance was useless, and that sooner or later he would have to yield. In order, therefore, to get as good terms as possible, he offered to submit. The offer was accepted, the keys handed over, and the *Khutba* was read in the name of the Emperor. The young King Hussein was sent to Gwalior to join the young prince who had been sent to the same place from Ahmednagar, thirty-four years before. Futteh Khan was loaded with honours, and was offered a high command in the Imperial army, which he was about to undertake, when he developed symptoms of insanity from an old wound in the head. He was, therefore, allowed to retire to Lahore, where he lived for many years in receipt of a pension of two lakhs of rupees. His younger brother, Chengiz Khan, had

already entered the Emperor's service, where he was appointed an Amir of two thousand, with the title of Munsoor Khan. This was the end of the Nizam Shahs, and from this time, the whole of their territory sunk into a province of the Empire.

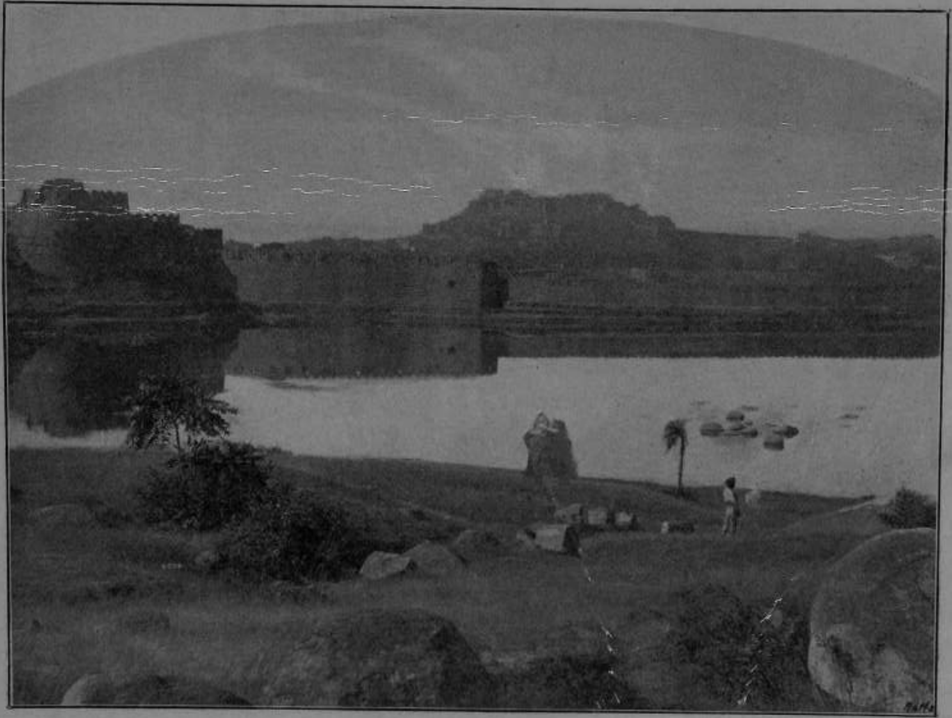
The story of Malick Amber is very slightly mentioned by Indian historians, and he is frequently spoken of as being a Governor of the Delhi Emperor. There can, however, be no doubt that for nineteen years he not only ruled in his own name, but that he very nearly reconquered tho whole of the Ahmednagar Kingdom. He must have carried his conquests as far as the sea, for he is spoken of as doing damage to the Imperial shipping. He was evidently held in great respect in the Deccan, and both Golconda and Bijapur paid him tribute. As long as he lived, the Moguls could retain no firm hold, and he went near to forming a large independent kingdom which, had he lived a few years longer, might possibly have been able to withstand the Imperial arms. But it was not to be, and when he died, the last capable defender of the Deccan passed away, so that the end now became merely a question of time. With the fall of Dowlatabad the beginning of the end had commenced.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

THE fall of Dowlatabad was followed by the reduction of several other strongholds. Shahjee was negotiating for the surrender of Jalna, but was anticipated by the Moguls, who induced the Governor of the fort to hand over possession to them. Shahjee then managed to get hold of a relative of the Nizam Shah, and keeping him in confinement in one of the hill forts, proclaimed him as successor to the Ahmednager Kingdom. This led to an expedition by the Imperial army, commanded by Prince Shah Shujah, and the Khan Khanan, against the hill fort of Purenda, but though the siege was pushed with a considerable amount of vigour the besiegers were not able to effect a breach, and on the rains setting in, they had to retire. In 1635, we find that an ambassador was sent from Delhi to both Golconda and Bijapur with *firmans* specifying the amount of tribute they should pay, and for the *khutba* being read in the Emperor's name. Nominally, however, the Kings were still independent, but an officer, similar to our Residents of modern times, was appointed to reside at the court of each, who kept the Emperor informed of what was going on. We read that these officers were met by the Sultans to whom they were

accredited with every mark of respect; both Adil Shah and Kutb Shah going five *koss* from their capitals to meet them. It is also significant that from this time we find that the Delhi historians omit the title of Shah, and merely style the Kings, Adil Khan and Kutb-ul-Mulk. But though Bijapur made a show of submission, the King privately kept up negotiations with, and sent assistance to, the Mahratta Shahjee. This led to a punitive expedition against him by an Imperial Force, and there was a good deal of desultory fighting. The country was ravaged and laid waste, and finally Adil Shah had to sue for peace, which he obtained by payment of twenty lakhs in jewels, elephants, &c., and by promising to restrain Shahjee from molesting the Imperial territory. If Shahjee agreed to surrender the Ahmednager strongholds, such as Junar, &c., he was to be at liberty to enter the Sultan's service, but if he did not, the Sultan was to assist the Imperial army in crushing his rebellion. During the whole of this transaction, the Emperor himself was present in the Deccan with the main body of his army, but on peace being settled, he agreed to return to Delhi, and thus relieve the country from the enormous strain which the presence of the huge Imperial camp laid upon it. In his place the Emperor left his son, Prince Aurungzebe, as Viceroy and Governor of the Deccan. Abdul Hamid (*ibid*, p. 88) states that the Imperial province in the Deccan contained sixty-four forts, fifty-three of which are situated on hills, the remaining eleven being on the plains. It is divided into four *subas*—(1) Dowlatabad with Ahmednager and other districts, which they call the *suba* of the Deccan. The capital of this province, which belonged to Nizam-ul-Mulk, was formerly Admednager, and afterwards Dowlatabad; (2) Telingana, this is situated in the Balaghat (the capital was Nander with the fort of Kandahar); (3) Khandeish, the capital of which was Burhanpur, and the fort Asir; and (4) Berar (the capital of which was Ellichpur,



Golconda Fort.

and the fortress Gawil). The revenue of the four provinces is stated to have amounted to five crores of rupees (equal five millions sterling).

Shahjee did not submit without a struggle, but the combined forces of the Emperor and Adil Shah were too much for him, and he was at length compelled to surrender Junar, and at the same time to give up the young Nizam whom he had proclaimed. The young prince was then taken by Aurungzebe to Delhi, and eventually sent to join his two other relatives in Gwalior. Shahjee now entered the service of Adil Shah, who employed him in the campaign he was carrying on in the Carnatic. Here Shahjee continued for almost the rest of his life, leaving his younger son Sivajee under the care of his mother at Poona. In the Carnatic, Shahjee proved himself a most useful servant. He reduced Mysore, Arcot, and the whole of the Tanjore country down to the River Cauvery, the latter portion being bestowed upon him by the Sultan as a personal jaghir. For more than seven years Shahjee did not see his son Sivajee, who during this time grew up to manhood, and developed qualities which enabled him to infinitely surpass his father in daring, intrigue, and in statesmanship. Mahmud Shah was now on the throne of Bijapur. He had succeeded his father in 1626, and reigned until 1656. During this long period of thirty years, the Sultan, though not very successful against the Imperial army, extended his dominions far into the south and east. He did not himself go into the field, but remained for the greater part of his time in the capital, where he raised many handsome buildings. Amongst those is the celebrated Gol Gumbaz, or, as it is often called, the Bol Gumbaz (*Gol* means round, and *Bol* speaking). This is in some respects one of the most remarkable buildings in the world. The dome is bigger than that of the Pantheon at Rome, and covers an area of 18,225 feet (one-eighth more than that of the Pantheon.) The tomb—for in it the body of

Mahmud was buried—took ten years to build. The dome itself is built in pendatives* of a very peculiar form, and in Mr. Fergusson's opinion, they are the happiest thought in dome-building that has yet come to light. The *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol XXIII.) thus describes the way it is built:—"In ordinary Saracenic domes, the lines of the square are carried up to the dome, and the octagon, at the springing of the dome, has the same diameter as the square; at Bijapur this space is contracted by inscribing in it two squares resting on alternate piers of an imaginary octagon. These by their intersection form an inner octagon whose angles are opposite the centre of the sides of the larger octagon. By these means an enormous mass of masonry is hung as a bracket inside the square. The inward drag of this mass is counteracted by the circular gallery, but at the same time it balances the tendency of the dome to spread at the base, and thrust the walls outward. This beautifnl building serves for a landmark, and is seen from a distance of twenty-five miles. It is, however, necessary to stand at some distance from it in order to take in the exact proportions. When too close, the dome seems to sink into the body of the building. Its great outward defect is want of height, though in this it is said to be superior to either the Pantheon or St. Sophia."

Prince Aurungzebe's tenure of the vice-royalty lasted for about seven years. When he was appointed, he was a youth of seventeen, and his rule was only a nominal one. Indeed at this time the young Prince seems to have been more devoted to religion than to the pomps and vanities of the world. It was whilst he was residing at Kirki, which, after him is called Aurangabad, that Aurungzebe conceived the extraordinary idea of retiring from the world as an ascetic, and, indeed, did for about one year actually live in a cell in

* A pendative is an architectural device by which a square is gradually contracted into a circle.

the rocky hills, that abound in the neighbourhood. The sacred caves of Ellora and Ajunta are situated not far from Aurangabad, and about the whole neighbourhood there exists a sort of *aura* of asceticism and sanctity, and it is possible the young prince's imagination was fired by this tradition, though it related to a religion different to his own. During the first Viceroyalty of Aurungzebe in the Deccan, matters seem to have been comparatively quiet, and they remained so for the ten years during which Aurungzebe was employed in the military operation in Balkh. In 1654, however, Aurungzebe was again appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, and the causes which led to this appointment call for detailed notice. We have seen how from time to time during the commencement of the Seventeenth Century the Golconda armies had taken a share in the various wars of the Deccan, and how Malick Amber levied tribute from the country. Subsequently peace was restored, and the Sultan became a tributary of the Empire. Abdulla Kutb Shah was then reigning at Golconda, or rather at Bhagnagar, the old name of Hyderabad. This town is situated on the south or right bank of the River Musi, one of the tributaries of the Kistna. Though surrounded by a wall, the city could never have been used for purposes of defence. It was founded originally by Mahomed Kutb Shah at the end of the sixteenth Century, and named by him after his favourite wife or mistress, Bhagmati. The city has no architectural pretensions with the exception of the Char Minar or four minarets, situated in the heart of the city at the meeting of the four main thoroughfares, and the Jumma or Mecca Musjid, of which a description will be given later on. In the seventeenth Century Hyderabad was a centre of mercantile enterprise, and merchants and dealers flocked there from all parts of the world, one of the special attractions being the market for diamonds which was held in the fort of Golconda, five miles distant. Amongst these adventurers was the son of an oil merchant of Ispahan, who

came to Golconda about the year 1630. He was a man of extraordinary talents, and in a short time rose to a position of a great wealth and influence. The name by which he is known in history is Mir Jumla, and he forms one of the principal characters in the history of India during the seventeenth Century. The travellers Tavernier and Thevenot who visited Golconda in 1648 and 1667 have left behind graphic accounts, not only of Golconda and Hyderabad, but also of Mir Jumla, who at the first date mentioned was the principal personage in the State. The former says:—"Mir Jumla was a person of great wit and no less understanding in military than in State affairs. I had occasion to speak to him several times, and I have no less admired his justice than his despatch to all people that had to do with him; while he gave out several despatches at one time, as if he had but one business on hand. * * * On the 15th, in the morning, we were admitted to wait upon him again, and were immediately admitted into his tent, where he sat with his two secretaries by him. The Nawab was sitting according to the custom of the country, barefoot like one of our tailors, with a great number of papers sticking between his toes, and others between the fingers of his left hand, which papers he drew sometimes from between his fingers and sometimes from between his toes, and ordered what answers should be given to every one." It was during Mir Jumla's period of power in Golconda that the valuable diamond mines were acquired and developed. These mines, as already stated above, were situated at a considerable distance from Golconda, but under Mir Jumla's orders they were most carefully and systematically worked. It is not clear whether the Minister did not work some of them on his own account; possibly he farmed them from the King. Thevenot speaks of his having twenty maund's weighth of diamonds which he had obtained either from the mines or from conquests in the Carnatic. Mir Jumla also owned a large jaghir adjoining the Carnatic, about 300 miles long

Abul Hasam Kutob Shobi.

by 60 miles wide, yielding a revenue of forty lakhs of rupees, and rich in diamond mines. His power and wealth were so great that he was able to entertain a force at his own expense of 5,000 horse. As was only natural, this enormous power and wealth of a foreigner excited the jealousy of the Deccanees, and endeavours were made to poison the King's mind against him. His son, Mahomed Amin, was also a young man of dissipated habits and incurred the King's displeasure. Mir Jumla saw that his disgrace and fall were inevitable, and he therefore resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Imperialists. Prince Aurungzebe had just arrived in the Deccan, and accordingly Mir Jumla wrote to him and invited him to invade Golconda. Bernier gives a copy of the letter,* which runs as follows:—"You need but take four or five thousand horse of the best of your army, and to march with expedition to Golconda, spreading a rumour by the way that it is an ambassador from Shah Jehan who goes in haste to speak about confidential matters to the king at Bhagnagar. The Dabir, who is the first to be addressed, to make anything known to the King, is allied to me, and is my creature and altogether mine. Take care of nothing but to march with expedition, and I will so order it that without making it known you shall come to the gates of Bhagnagar, and when the King shall come out to receive the letters according to custom, you may easily seize on him and afterwards or all his family, and do with him what shall seem good to you; in regard that his house of Bhagnagar, where he commonly resides, is unwalled and unfortified." Bernier goes on to say that on receipt of this letter, Aurungzebe at once marched as proposed, and Mir Jumla kept his word, everything falling out as predicted. "The King, being advised of the arrival of this pretended ambassador, came forth into a garden

* "History of the late Revolution of the Empire of Mogul," Vol. I., pp. 38-39.

according to custom, received him with honour and having unfortunately put himself into the hands of the enemy, ten or twelve slaves were ready to fall upon and seize him, as had been projected, but that a certain Omrah touched with tenderness, could not forbear to cry out, though he was of the party, and a creature of the Amir: 'Doth not your Majesty see that this is Aurungzebe? Away, or you are taken!' Whereat the King being affrighted, slips away, and gets hastily on horseback, riding with all his might to the fortress of Golconda." It is possible that this account may be true, for Aurungzebe was quite equal to such a piece of treachery. No doubt it is the story which Bernier heard, and in his position of surgeon to the Emperor he would have exceptionally good sources at his command. But it must always be remembered that in every country, and especially in India, stories which are current at court are generally tinged with exaggeration. In this case not only is there internal evidence that the story is not correct, but there is also the history of Ináyat Khan, which gives a very different version but one which contains the element upon which the more sensational one could easily be built. Apart from the impossibility of Prince Aurungzebe being able to start on a raid of this kind without it being known, we know that he was essentially a cautious man, and one who laid his plans after much deliberation. An expedition of this kind would, no doubt, have had attractions for a man like Sivajee, but not for Aurungzebe, and further, if he had succeeded so far as to have got the King actually in his power, he would not have allowed him to escape. Now, Ináyat Khan says Mir Jumba came himself to Aurungzebe because he had fallen into the displeasure of his master, the King. He was received with high honour, and a *khilat*, and *mansab* of 5,000 was bestowed upon him. It is very possible that on the occasion of this visit Mir Jumla laid before the Prince the plan of an

The last King of Golconda imprisoned by Aurungzebe.

invasion; but as yet there was no excuse. As soon, however, as Sultan Abdullah heard that Mir Jumla had gone to Aurungzebe, he placed his son, Mahomed Amin, in confinement, and attached all his Minister's property. This furnished the excuse for interference, and we are told that the Prince at once despatched "a quiet letter to Kutb-ul-Mulk regarding the release of the prisoners, and the restoration of Mahomed Amin's goods and chattels." At the same time he reported the matter to Delhi, and asked for permission to march with an army to insist upon the order being carried out. This permission being granted, the Prince despatched his eldest son, Mahomed Sultan, with an advance force with orders to encamp near Hyderabad, and insist upon the letter of his father being obeyed. Abdulla Shah at first delayed, but when the army arrived within a short distance of Hyderabad, he complied so far as to send out Mahomed Amin, but not his and Mir Jumla's property. The Sultan is said to have taken refuge in the fort of Golconda, and to have sent out a messenger with a box of jewels, but at the same time to have made a sortie which attacked the camp of the young Prince whilst the jewels were being presented. The attack was beaten off, but as the messenger was supposed to have been an accomplice, he was put to death. If Bernier's story were true, Mir Jumla must have still been with the Sultan, but it seems clear that previous to the despatch of this advance force he had joined Aurungzebe. There can be no doubt that the Sultan's flight was a very rapid one, and that after he had escaped, the city of Hyderabad was partially plundered; but there seems to be no ground for the accusation of treachery on the part of Aurungzebe. When Aurungzebe heard that the Sultan had only partially obeyed his orders, he at once joined his son with the main body of the army, and proceeded to invest the fort. Some fighting ensued, in which the Imperialists were not always successful, but the siege was

being pressed actively when orders came from Delhi to the Prince to allow terms, and not to press the matter to the end. This probably was due to the jealousy which Prince Dara Shukoh entertained of Aurungzebe, and as the former was the emperor's favourite son, he was able to influence his father's actions. From Tavernier's account it would appear that Aurungzebe was by no means so successful in his siege as the historian Ináyat Khan tries to make out. This history is overladen with fulsome flattery of Aurungzebe, who is never mentioned without some qualifying adjective such as the "ever victorious," "the fortunate Prince," or the "ever triumphant." Tavernier visited Golconda for the third time soon after the conclusion of the war, and his account, obtained, no doubt, from eyewitnesses, cannot be open to the suspicion of partiality which that of a courtier is. Tavernier speaks of one distinct repulse, in which the Imperialists had to flee for several leagues after leaving their General on the battle-field. Under Ináyat Khan's plastic pen, this defeat becomes a victory, and as the passage is a good example of his style of writing which makes every enemy a "wretch" and every Imperialist a "hero," it is worth reproducing:— "After two or three days had elapsed in this manner, a vast force of the Kutb-ul-Mulk's made their appearance on the northern side of the fort, and were about to pour down upon the entrenchment of Mirza Khan, who was engaged in the defence of that quarter; when the latter, becoming aware of their hostile intention, made an application for reinforcements. The renowned and successful Prince immediately despatched some nobles with his own artillery to his support, and their reinforcements having arrived at full speed, took part at once in the affray. Under the magic influences of his Majesty's never-failing good fortune, the enemy took to flight, whereupon the ever-triumphant troops began putting the miscreants to the sword, and allowed hardly any of them to

escape death or captivity. After chasing the vain wretches as far as the fort, they brought the prisoners along with one elephant that had fallen into their hands into his Royal Highness's presence. *On this date a trusty person was deputed to go and fetch Mir Jumla.*" This last sentence proves two things: one, that at this stage of affairs Aurungzebe considered it advisable to have a third party through whom negociations could be carried on; and secondly, that Mir Jumla was not with the King of Golconda, which he would have been had Bernier's story been true. Pending Mir Jumla's arrival there was continued fighting and also negociations. The King's mother * was admitted to an audience, not only with the Prince's son Mahomed, but also with Aurungzebe himself. The terms offered to the King's mother were an indemnity of one crore of rupees in cash, jewellery, and elephants, which the "chaste matron," as she is termed, agreed to pay. The narrative of Ináyat Khan goes on to say: "At this time the news of Mir Jumla's arrival in the vicinity of Golconda was made known; so the Prince forwarded to him the *firman* and *khilat* that had come for him from court." Mir Jumla then joined the Prince's camp, and soon afterwards peace was definitely settled, Abdullah Shah's daughter being given in marriage to Aurungzebe's son Mahomed. Ten lakhs of rupees in money and jewels were given as her dowry, and then Aurungzebe evacuated his camp, and retired to his seat of Government. So far Ináyat Khan; but when Tavernier's account is examined, it becomes clear that the native historian in a courtier-like manner has glossed over the whole proceedings. The traveller says: "Some days after the enemy had laid siege to the fortress, a gunner, perceiving Aurungzebe upon his elephant visiting the outworks whilst the

* Tavernier tells us that this lady was a Brahmin. She was of great intelligence, and owing to her influence the Brahmins were largely employed by the King.

King was on the bastion, said to the latter that if his Majesty wished he could destroy the Prince with a shot of the cannon, and at the same moment he put himself in position to fire. But the King seized him by the arm, and told him to do nothing of the sort, and that the lives of Princes should be respected. The gunner, who was skilful, obeyed the King, and instead of firing at Aurungzebe, he killed the General of his army, who was farther in advance, with a cannon shot. This stopped the attack, which he was about to deliver, the whole camp being alarmed by his death. Abdul Naber Beg, General of the army of the King of Golconda, who was close by with a flying camp of 4,000 horse, having heard that the enemy were somewhat disordered by the loss of their General, at once took advantage of so favourable an opportunity, and going at them full tilt, succeeded in overcoming them; and having put them to flight, he followed them vigorously for four or five leagues till nightfall. A few days before the death of this General, the King of Golconda, who had been surprised, seeing himself pressed, and supplies being short in the fortress, was on the point of giving up the keys; but as we have before related, Mirza Mahomed, his son-in-law, tore them from his hands, and threatened to slay him if he persisted any longer in such a resolution; and this was the reason why the King, who previously had but little liking for him, thenceforward conceived a great affection for him, of which he gave daily proofs. *Aurungzebe having then been obliged to raise the siege*, halted some days to rally his troops and receive reinforcements, with which he set himself to besiege Golconda. The fortress was as vigorously attacked as it was vigorously defended". * Tavernier then goes on to describe the manner in which Mir Jumla brought about a peace; how the marriage was celebrated, and how Mir Jumla then returned with Aurangzebe

* Edition of V. Ball, LL.D., 2 Vols. (Macmillan, 1889).

to his seat of Government at Burhanpur. There can be no doubt that Aurungzebe was checked in his operations against Golconda by orders from Delhi, and this check was most likely due to the jealousy of his elder brother. It would, however, be necessary to assign a reason which could pass current. This reason might have been that Aurungzebe had taken an unfair advantage of the Sultan. Hence the story which Bernier heard and has recorded. The letter of Mir Jumla may possibly be genuine, but it is impossible that the scheme could have been carried out as suggested in it, and it was not until Mir Jumla had left the Sultan that the invasion was actually carried out. From this time forward Mir Jumla threw in his lot with Aurungzebe. He first of all went to Delhi, where he presented the Emperor with a splendid diamond, believed to be the Koh-i-noor which is now amongst the British crown jewels. * Mir Jumla continued to be Aurungzebe's confidential adviser, and no doubt much of the latter's success was due to this clever schemer's advice. This aid was afterwards rewarded by Aurungzebe when he gained the throne by the viceroyalty of Bengal.

For a time therefore Golconda was spared, and Aurungzebe's chief attention was devoted to Bijapur and to the turbulent Sivajee, who was now beginning to give the Moguls a great deal of trouble. It is not within the scope of this work to follow Sivajee's fortunes; this has already been done by a far abler pen, and it must suffice here to say that the whole of the Mogul forces in the Deccan were insufficient to curb his growing power; and he continued in open rebellion, not only against them, but also against his own Sovereign of Bijapur.

As soon as Aurungzebe returned to his province, he commenced an expedition against Bijapur, one of the excuses for which was that the Sultan had not kept Sivajee in restraint,

* Bernier, and also Ball's Tavernier, Appendix I., Vol. II.

and was therefore responsible for his depredations. The Sultan of Bijapur was Ali Adil Shah II. (1656-1672), who was then a boy of nineteen. Tavernier and Thevenot, who both visited Bijapur about this time, say that he had been adopted by the late Sultan's wife before her husband's death. There is no confirmation of this in the Mahomedan histories, but it seems probable that this formed one of the reasons of Aurungzebe's invasion; another was that on ascending the throne the new Sultan had not paid homage or sent tribute to the Emperor. Mr. Campbell, in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. XXIII., p. 429) speaks of the young King as being the son of the late Sultan Mahomed, and calls the invasion an utterly unwarrantable one. He does not, however, give his authority for this statement, and a certain amount of credit is due to the two European travellers who could have had no reason for misrepresenting matters. Tavernier is very explicit.* "Some years before the death of the King, the Queen, as she had no children, adopted a young boy, upon whom she had bestowed all her affection, and whom she brought up, as I have already said, with the greatest care in the doctrines of the sect of Ali (*Sheah*). On the death of the King she caused this adopted son to be declared King, and Sivajee, as he then possessed an army, continued the war, and for some time caused trouble to the regency of this Queen. But at last he made the first proposals for peace, and the treaty was concluded, on the condition that he should retain all the country he had taken as a vassal of the King, who should receive half the revenues —and the young King, having been established on the throne by this peace, the Queen his mother undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca, and I was at Ispahan when she passed on her return." Thevenot says the same.† "The King (who reigns in Bijapur at present) was an orphan, whom the late King and Queen

* Ball's Edition. Vol. I., p. 183.

† Lovell's Translation, 1686.

adopted for their son, and after the death of the King, the Queen had so much interest as to settle him upon the throne; but he being as yet very young, the Queen was declared Regent of the kingdom. Nevertheless, there has been a great deal of weakness during her Government, and Rajah Sivajee hath made the best on't for his own elevation" (part III., p. 92). Now, adoption is not recognized in Mahomedan law, and it would therefore seem that Aurungzebe was justified in putting forward a claim that the kingdom had lapsed to the Empire. Certainly similar claims have been put forward by the British Government during the last hundred years, as regards not only Mahomedans but also Hindoos, under whose law adoption is a recognized custom. Aurungzebe accordingly marched an army into Bijapur, and refusing all overtures made by the young King, who offered almost everything short of surrender, laid siege to the capital. The defence was an obstinate one, and the city was on the point of surrender, when news arrived of the illness of Shah Jehan. If Aurungzebe was to make a bid for the throne, it was necessary for him to at once proceed to Delhi, and accordingly he made a hasty peace, received from the young King his professions of homage and a large payment of tribute, and then marched his army back to the north. Prince Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, seems to have made a very correct forecast of Aurungzebe's intentions. Mahomed Saleh Kambu * says that the Prince told his father that Aurungzebe would first of all help Murad Baksh, who was then Governor of Khandeish, to rebel, and then, making use of the money he had received from Golconda and Bijapur, would march with a large army to Delhi in order to assume the Government. This, indeed, is what actually occurred. The above-mentioned author says: "Although the Emperor showed no haste in adopting those views, he was quite willing to send the letters (of recall).

* Elliot and Dowson, vol. vii., p. 129.

He could not resist the influence Prince Dara had obtained over him. So letters of the unpleasant import above described were sent off by the hands of some Imperial messengers. The messengers reached Prince Aurungzebe as he was engaged in directing the operation against Bijapur, and he had the place closely invested (1656-57). The arrival of the letters disturbed the minds of the soldiers, and greatly incensed the Prince, so much confusion arose." Accordingly, Aurungzebe started on the expedition which was to gain for him a throne. On his way he passed through Dowlatabad, where he left Mir Jumla in confinement. This, however, was merely a blind, for there can be no doubt that he was helped by the crafty Persian, both in advice and money. With the story of this expedition, and with the unhappy fate of Dara Shukoh and Murad Buksh, we have nothing to do in this history. It is, however, strange that we again find—as they had done 350 years before—the treasures of the Deccan being used by the victorious Governor for the purpose of rebellion against his own father, and for parricide. The curse that rests upon the Deccan gold had not yet been removed, and it is easy to understand how it has become a matter of belief amongst natives of India, that hidden treasures are guarded by demons. They are the demons of avarice and ambition.

In the meantime the Deccan for a period of twenty years had a breathing time. The end was not yet to be.

GENEALOGY OF THE KUTB SHAHI DYNASTY. (Golconda).

- 1. Kuli Kutb Shah, 1512—1543
  - Kutb u'd Din, blinded by 2.
  - 2. Jamshid, 1543—1550
  - Haidar
  - 3. Ibrahim, 1550—1581
    - 5. Mahummud
      - 6. Abdullah Kutb Shah, 1672
        - 7. Abu Hasan, died in confinement, 1672—83
    - 4. Muhammed Kuli, 1581—1611

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE END OF BIJAPUR.

Aurungzebe's absence from the Deccan, was Sivajee's opportunity, and he at once commenced a series of raids, not only into Imperial territory, but also against Bijapur. The Sultan determined to make an effort to crush him, and for this purpose collected a large army, which he entrusted to Afzul Khan, one of his most trusted and experienced Generals. Afzul Khan, though a brave and talented soldier, was by no means a match for the wily Mahratta. In 1659 Afzul Khan set out on his expedition with an army of 5,000 horse and 7,000 picked foot, besides a large supply of rockets and light artillery. Sivajee gradually retreated until he had enticed the

Mahomedan General into the defiles of the Mahabaleshwar hills, and then when the latter had arrived in front of the hill fort of Pratabgarh, he proposed a conference in which to discuss the terms of peace. A small plateau below the fort was elected as the place of meeting, and it was arranged that the two Commanders should meet there unattended by any followers. Afzul Khan, unsuspicious of any treachery, was the first to arrive at the place of meeting. Soon afterwards, Sivajee was seen descending the hill, stopping frequently as he approached as if in fear. Arrived at the plateau, Afzul Khan came forward to meet him, and then as Sivajee advanced as if to embrace him, he suddenly plunged the sharp tiger-claw dagger he held in his right hand into Afzul Khan's back, and at the same time followed up the stroke with a blow of the dagger he held in his left. Afzul Khan attempted to draw his sword, but it was too late, and he fell covered with wounds at the Mahratta's feet. Whilst this tragedy was taking place, the Mahratta troops had been gradually closing round the Mahomedans, and just as the latter were struck dumb with the foul act of treachery that was being committed before their eyes, a sudden onset was made. The Mahomedans, horror-struck and taken unaware, at once took to flight and were almost entirely cut to pieces, only a small remnant escaping to tell the tale. Flushed with this success, Sivajee broke into the open country and plundered up to the walls of Bijapur itself. The King, however, was soon able to raise another army which he entrusted to Fazl Khan, the son of Afzul Khan, and himself accompanied his troops to the field. Sivajee at once retreated, and when he had regained his hilly country was able to prolong the war indefinitely. Whenever it came to a battle, the Royal Troops were successful; but the Mahrattas then retreated to their inaccessible hills, and, eluding the Mahomedan forces, broke out in a fresh place. Although Fazl Khan distinguished himself by

bravery and skill, he was not able to bring the war to a definite conclusion, and it dragged on until 1662, when a peace was concluded, under which Sivajee's conquests were confirmed to him on condition of his recognizing the Sultan as his Suzerain. "By this treaty Sivajee became Ruler of the whole of the Konkan Coast from Kalyan to Goa, and above the Sahyadris from the Bhima to the Varna, a strip of land about 130 miles long by 100 broad." * This peace lasted for six years, and though during this time Bijapur still continued to show signs of its former splendour, it was gradually crumbling away. It still continued to be a centre of commercial enterprise, and the European travellers who visited it about this time speak of the wealth of its merchants, and especially of the jewellers. Tavernier, who visited the city about 1648, does not appear to have been struck by its architectural beauties, and mentions only the goldsmiths and jewellers. Thevenot's account is so similar to that of Tavernier's, and is otherwise so vague about the surrounding country, that one cannot help suspecting that he merely wrote down what he heard from Tavernier, whom he certainly met in Surat after the latter's visit. Baldœus, the Dutch traveller in 1660, says that the Bijapur kingdom was 250 leagues long and 150 broad, and that its army consisted of 150,000 horse, besides a large number on foot. The same traveller also says that the Kingdom abounded in saltpetre works. In 1666, a Mogul force advanced against Bijapur under the command of Jey Singh, and though the Sultan offered to pay all arrears of tribute, he refused to accept any terms. But Bijapur was not yet quite dead, and rousing himself in despair the Sultan succeeded in raising a large force, to which it would seem that Sivajee also contributed. With these combined armies, the Sultan was able to defeat the Moguls, and the plague breaking out, they had to retire to Aurangabad, pursued by the Bijapur

* Campbell, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII.

forces. But the effort was not a national one, and in the reaction that followed Bijapur was so weak that the Sultan had to make first concessions to Sivaji, and stooped indeed so far as to agree to pay him a yearly tribute of three lakhs of rupees on condition that he would abstain from levying *chouth* * throughout his dominions. Soon after this, the Sultan Ali Adil Shah died (1672) and was succeeded by his son, Secunder Adil Shah, a boy five years of age. For the next four years the kingdom was torn by rival factions. Khawas Khan was the Regent, and a rivalry between the two other Ministers, Abdul Karim and Muzafur Khan, was formed by the Brahmin agents of Sivajee. The quarrels between these two were so fierce that the Regent finding himself helpless, made overtures to the Emperor, offering to give the Sultan's elder sister to one of his sons in marriage. The offer was accepted, and an army was despatched under Khan Jehan to annex the kingdom and bring back the princess. Before, however, the army could reach Bijapur the Regent's treachery was discovered and the people rising in indignation, assassinated him and electing Abdul Karim as their Regent, flocked together to oppose the Moguls. Abdul Karim at once made every disposition for defence, and so patriotically was he backed up, that he was enabled to defeat the Mogul General and send him in retreat across the border. Bijapur not as yet being ready for conquest, Aurungzebe now attempted diplomatic measures, and an Agent or Resident was sent to Bijapur nominally as a mark of friendship, but in reality to intrigue and gain over the nobles. During these times of disorder Sivajee had not been idle.

* *Chouth* was the one-fourth of the revenue which the Mahrattas always levied in the districts which were at their mercy. It was a kind of blackmail, and by paying, the district obtained immunity from their raids. A hundred years later, this *chouth* was levied throughout the greater part of India, from the Cauvery to the Ganges.

He had declared himself a Rajah in 1674, and was now busy in securing the country of Tanjore and Gingee which had been granted as a Jaghir to his father Shahjee. It is not unusual to find it stated in histories that the kingdom of Tanjore was conquered by the Mahrattas. This, however, is scarcely correct. Tanjore and the hitherto impregnable fort of Gingee were in reality conquered by a Bijapur army despatched by Mahmud Adil Shah, 1637. Shahjee, who about this time had submitted to the Sultan of Bijapur, after a career of rebellion, which has already been described, was appointed to the chief command of this expedition. He was eminently successful, and carried the Bijapur armies through the Carnatic as far as Tanjore. Subsequently Tanjore and Gingee were granted to Shahjee as a Jaghir by the Bijapur Sultan in reward for his services. Tanjore was therefore a portion of the Bijapur kingdom, and Shahjee merely held it as a fief of the Sultan. Indeed, when during his father's absence Sivajee broke into revolt, the Sultan recalled his father, and holding him responsible for his son's actions, confined him in a dungeon, the door of which was partially built up (1648). Eventually, however, he was released and sent back to Tanjore to quell a rebellion. Sivajee's claim to this Jaghir was therefore a very shadowy one, but the weakness of the Bijapur State enabled him to make the best use of it. He marched into the Carnatic and succeeded in ousting the Bijapur troops from Vellore, Gingee, and Tanjore, and placed his brother Vencojee in charge of the country as his own deputy. This was only done after some considerable time, as Vencojee considered himself entitled to the whole Jaghir, but as it is not within the scope of this history to follow the fortunes of the Mahrattas, the matter need not be now discussed, and is only referred to in order to show that the Mahratta dynasty in Tanjore was not the result of a Mahratta conquest of the country, but of a Mahratta rebel-

lion against the Suzerain power, which was only rendered possible by the Sultan's weakness. As a matter of fact, Vencojee became the founder of the Tanjore dynasty, which has only recently become extinct by the death of the last female descendant, the Princess of Tanjore.

In the meantime matters in Bijapur were thrown into a still greater state of confusion by a repulse which the Bijapur troops met in an attack upon Golconda. The Golconda Sultan had made an alliance with Sivajee, the object of which was to divide the Bijapur kingdom between them. In anticipation of this attack the Bijapur Regent, together with the Mogul General Dilawar Khan, undertook an expedition against Golconda, but were compelled to retreat by Madhanna Punt, the Golconda Minister. On their return to Bijapur an *emeute* broke out in the army, which was largely in arrears, and it was only quelled by Masud Khan, the wealthy Abyssinian Governor of Adoni, agreeing to pay the arrears, if he was appointed Minister. This arrangement was accordingly made, and Masud Khan by paying off a portion of the forces and disbanding the remainder succeeded in restoring quiet. The Emperor Aurungzebe, however, was by no means pleased, when he heard of this arrangement and informed Dilawar Khan, his General, that he should have taken advantage of the opportunity to interfere himself; he was now instructed to demand payment of arrears of tribute and also the fulfilment of the arrangement regarding the Princess. Masud Khan refused to carry out this latter request, and at once regained his popularity, a portion of which had been lost by the disbandment of the troops. Thereupon Dilawar Khan advanced with an army to lay siege to Bijapur, and the Princess, though personally strongly against the match, voluntarily went over to the Mogul Camp, in order, if possible, to save the City from the horrors of a prolonged siege. The sacrifice, however, was of no avail. She was courteously

received and sent on with an escort to Aurungzebe, but the Mogul army still continued to press the siege with vigour (1679). In despair the Regent applied for help to Sivajee, and offered the Raichore Doab if he would come to his assistance. This offer Sivajee accepted, and taking possession of his new territory, ravaged the country to the rear of the Mogul army right up to the gates of Aurangabad; Dilawar Khan, however, continued to press the siege of Bijapur and the Regent implored Sivajee to return as soon as possible. This the Mahratta did, and so galled the rear of the Mogul army, that at length, being unable to make any impression on the gallant defenders of the city, Dilawar Khan was compelled to retire. Bijapur was thus again saved, but at a heavy cost. The cession of the Doab was exceedingly unpopular, for it reduced Bijapur from a large kingdom to a mere isolated province, shut in on both sides by Mahratta territory. So great was the general disgust at the heavy price paid by the Regent Masud Khan, that he was compelled to resign and to return to Adoni. In the meantime Sivajee had died, and the new ministers at Bijapur, Shirza Khan and Seyd Mackhtum, endeavoured to regain popularity by recovering from his son and successor Sambhajee, a portion of the territory granted to his father. The attempt failed, and was especially injudicious because it alienated Sambhajee, who never forgave it, and thus Bijapur lost the only ally whose help might have enabled it to hold out against the Emperor.

The end was now near. For three years Bijapur enjoyed a brief time of peace, but it was only the lull before the storm. Aurungzebe had never relinquished his intention of subjugating the Deccan. He was led to form this resolve, not only on account of his personal ambition, but, as he openly said, from religious motives. The "vile dog" Sivajee had for years defied his authorities, and that still "viler dog" Sambhajee treated it with an even greater want of respect. The Mahrattas

were "accursed heathen" who must at all hazard be swept away. But Aurungzebe regarded the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur with feelings of detestation, almost equal to those he entertained towards the Mahrattas. Though they were not actually infidels, they were heretics, for not only did they belong to the unorthodox sect of Shias, but they also allowed infidels to thrive in their dominions. In Golconda the principal Minister was a Hindoo, and in both States a tolerance was shown toward Christians, such as was not to be found elsewhere in the Mahomedan world. Colonel Meadows Taylor has given in "A Noble Queen" a most interesting account of the protection afforded by the Bijapur Rulers to the Christian community at Mudkal, and there were many other similar Settlements throughout the kingdom. The following note from the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. XXIII., p. 435) may be reproduced here:—

"According to Colonel Meadows Taylor the Adil Shahi kings were tolerant in regard to different sects of Mahomedans and the same tolerance seems to have been shown to Christian missions from Goa. It is evident from the churches that still remain in the Deccan, that the movements of the Jesuit friars and their communication with the people were not restricted, and that in some instances large communities were made their converts, which still remain firm in their faith. One mission church is at Aurangabad; another, the members of which are distillers and weavers, at Chitapur on the Bhima, about twenty miles south-east of Gulburga; a third at Raichur which consists of potters; a fourth at Mudkal, the largest, containing upward of 300 members, who are shepherds and weavers; a fifth at a place between Raichur and Mudkal, who are farmers. In all these places there are small churches furnished with translations in excellent Canarese of the Breviary and of Homilies and lectures, which in the absence of the priest, are read by lay-deacons or monks duly accredited. They have also schools

attached to them. These churches, under the late Concordat are now permanently subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa, all of them possess *firmans* or grants of endowments by Ibrahim, Ali, and Mahmud Adil Shah; some of lands, others of grain, cloths and percentage upon the local custom and excise revenues, which are still enjoyed under the local grant. The early Portuguese missionaries introduced into the Deccan, where they still flourish, the Cintra orange, and the black and white fleshy grapes of Portugal."

A similar tolerance to heretics was also shown by the Golconda Sultan, and Tavernier tells a most interesting story of how the Sultan formed a strong attachment to a certain Father Ephraim, and when afterwards the same Father was imprisoned by the Jesuits of St. Thome, and sent to the Inquisition at Goa, the Sultan ordered Mir Jumla, who was then in the Carnatic, to kill and burn the whole Jesuit settlement, if within two months the Father was not released. The threat had the desired effect, and the authorities in Goa had to go in procession to Father Ephraim's prison, open the doors and bring him out in triumph (Ball's Edition of Tavernier, Vol. 1., Chapter XV.) This dallying with heresy was an abomination in the eyes of the bigotted Emperor, and he resolved to go in person and sweep the Deccan of the infidels and heretics that abounded there. * In 1683 Aurungzebe's preparations were made, and he started on that great expedition which lasted for twenty-four years, and from

* To this day it is remarkable what a number of Hindoo superstitions and habits have crept into the Mahomedan families of the Deccan. There can be no doubt that during the three hundred years of independence there was a far closer intimacy between the two races than existed anywhere else in India. There seems to have been not only a mutual toleration but a strong affection between the Hindoo subjects on the one hand and the Mahomedan rulers on the other which was weakened only towards the decline of the Bijapur kingdom, by unnecessary cruelty towards the rising power of the Mahrattas as related *supra* in the text.

which he never returned. So vast was the army that accompanied the Emperor, that the advance was necessarily slow. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole ("Aurungzebe") has given a description of the enormous moving city which accompanied the army, and it need not therefore be reproduced here. But though the mills of the gods grind slowly they grind very fine, and the gradual advance was like an avalanche that destroyed everything in its way. In 1685 the campaign against Bijapur was commenced by the fall of Sholapur. At first the Bijapur troops, aroused from their quarrels by the presence of the common enemy, had some few successes, and defeated the Mogul outposts on the banks of the Bhima; but gradually the net was gathered closer round the devoted city. The Bijapur army is said to have been in a very high state of efficiency, well officered and full of brave and efficient soldiers. But they had gradually to fall back, and Bijapur was closely invested by Prince A'zam. The defence, however, was nobly conducted, and the Mogul army suffered greatly from want of provisions, for the neighbourhood of Bijapur is a desert and the season had been a bad one. For some time the Imperial army could make no impression upon Bijapur, until at last the Emperor who had remained at Sholapur, came in person to conduct the siege. But still the defence was vigorously conducted. Although a practicable breach had been effected no storm was attempted. But hunger did its work more effectually, and at last on the 15th October, 1686, the garrison, reduced to the last extremities, capitulated. The Emperor entered the city in state, moving through crowds of weeping inhabitants and proceeded to the great Durbar hall, where he received the submission of the nobles. The unfortunate Sultan Sikander was brought before him laden with silver chains, and was ordered to be kept in confinement in his own capital. He received an allowance of one lakh of rupees per annum for his maintenance, but did

not long survive to draw it, for a few years afterwards he died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the Emperor's orders. This was the end of Bijapur as an independent kingdom, and from henceforth it became an Imperial province.

The English Geographer Ogilby, writing in 1689, gives the following account of Bijapur compiled from old travellers:

"Bijapur had many jewellers who traded in diamonds and pearls of great value. The diamonds were brought from Golconda and were sold to Surat or Cambay merchants, who re-sold them in Goa and elsewhere. The arms used by the people, both by horse and foot, were broad swords, pikes, lances with a square iron at the end about a span long, bows and arrows, shields and darts. Their defensive arms were coats of mail and coats lined with cotton. When they marched afield they carried calico tents, under which they slept. They used oxen to carry their baggage. Their common mode of fighting was on foot, though when they marched, some walked, others rode on horses, and some on elephants, of which the King kept a large number. The King was very powerful, and able in a short time to bring eighty thousand to two hundred thousand armed men into the field, both horse and foot. The King had diverse great guns in his magazine, and about two hundred cannons, demi-cannons and culverines. The King was called 'Adelcan' or 'Adel Shah,' meaning the Lord of Justice, or the King of Keys—that is, the keeper of the keys that locked the treasure of the Bisngar (Vijayanagar) King. The land had no written laws, the King's will was the law. At the capital civil justice was administered by the high sheriff or *Kotwal*, and criminal cases were administered by the King. The criminals were executed in the King's presence with great cruelty, throwing them often before elephants and other wild beasts to be eaten, and sometimes cutting off their arms, legs, and other members.

A debtor who failed to pay his debt within the period named by the judge was whipped and his wife and children were sold by the creditor as slaves. Persons taking oaths were placed in a round circle made on the ground and repeated some words, with one hand on ashes and the other laid on their breast (*Bombay Gazetteer* Vol, XXIII., p. 434.)

It is clear from Bernier's résumé of the history of the Deccan that most erroneous impressions existed in Delhi regarding the history and the condition of the Deccan. Bernier of course tells us what he heard, and there seems to be little doubt that these false stories were purposely propagated in order to make Aurungzebe's invasion of Mahomedan states popular. Bernier's story regarding the origin of the Deccan Kingdom is utterly opposed to the real facts. He says: "Two centuries have scarcely elapsed since the great peninsula of India, stretching from the Gulf of Cambay on the West, and extending southerly to the Cape of Comorin and to the Gulf of Bengal near Juggernath on the east, was with the exception perhaps of a few mountainous tracts under the domination of one arbitrary despot. The indiscretion of Rajah, or King, Ram Ras the last Prince under whom it was united, caused the dismemberment of this vast monarchy, and this is the reason why it is now divided among many sovereigns professing different religions. *Ram Ras* had three Georgian slaves in his service whom he distinguished by every mark of favour and at length nominated to the Government of three considerable districts. One was appointed governor of nearly the whole of the territory in the Deccan which is now in the possession of the Mogul; Daulatabad was the capital of that Government which extended from Bieder, Paranda and Surat as far as the Nerbudda. The territory now forming the Kingdom of Visiapour was the portion of the second favourite, and the third obtained the country comprehended in the present Kingdom of Golconda. These three slaves became exceedingly

rich and powerful and as they professed the Mahomedan faith and declared themselves of the Chyas (Shea) sect, which is that of the Persians they received the countenance and support of a great number of Mogols in the service of Ram Ras. They could not even if so disposed, have embraced the religion of the Gentiles, because the gentiles of India admit no stranger to the participation of their mysteries. A rebellion in which the three Georgian slaves united, terminated in the murder of Ram Ras, after which they returned to their respective Government, and usurped the title of *Chah* or King." *—A more incorrect or garbled account of Deccan history than this cannot be imagined. Bernier, however, was a most accurate and conscientious observer, and his record of contemporary events is more reliable than those of the Mahomedan historians. He was moreover for many years at the Imperial Court and had access to the highest and best informed of the nobility. It is therefore clear that he can only have recorded the version which he heard and as it is impossible, (from the fact of the histories being still extant) that the true history of the Deccan could not have been known, there seems to be good ground for the belief that this garbled version was purposely published in order to give a colour to Aurungzebe's invasion and conquest, for which, once interrupted, he was at that time only wanting another opportunity.

* Berniers Travel's.—Constables Oriental Miscellany.—Constable & Co 1891. Vol. I.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FALL OF GOLCONDA.—A. D. 1686.

AT the same time as Aurungzebe sent an army from Sholapur to attack Bijapur he also sent an army under Prince Muhammed Muazzam and Khan Jehan against Hyderabad. Abu'l Hassan was the reigning Sultan, having succeeded his uncle Abdulla in 1672. His two principal Ministers were Hindoos, named Madanna and Akanna, and this fact of employing infidels formed one of the protests which Aurungzebe put forward for his destruction.

Abu'l Hassan appears to have contemplated relieving Bijapur, but his forces were met by the Imperial army between the two kingdoms, and though greatly superior in numbers, the Hyderabad General was beaten with considerable loss. The Imperial troops, however, were not

strong enough to follow up this advantage, and remained encamped on the field of battle for some months. This delay excited the Emperor's anger, and he despatched a strong letter of censure to the Prince and to Khan Jehan, who thereupon sent a message to Muhammed Ibrahim, the Hyderabad General, that they would conclude a peace if certain districts which had been seized from the province of Ahmednagar were restored. Ibrahim taking this offer as a sign of weakness, refused peremptorily, and thus left the Imperial forces no other resource than to recommence hostilities. There seems to have been good reasons for the Emperor's displeasure at the Prince's inaction, for in the battle that followed the Imperialists won an easy victory, and the Sultan's troops fled in confusion to Hyderabad, whither they were ollowed by the Mogul army. There is some reason to suspect that Ibrahim, the Hyderabad General, had been bought over. At all events, his master, the Sultan, was so enraged at his discomfiture that he sent an order for his arrest, and Ibrahim, afraid of the result, then actually went over the Prince's camp and made his submission. On hearing of this defection, Abu'l Hassan at once left the city of Hyderabad and took refuge with his servants and family in the fort of Golconda, situated about four miles distant. This step appears to have been taken against the advice of his Hindoo Ministers, who would rather that he should have retreated to Warangal, in the Telingana country, where he could easily have collected a fresh army with which to raise the siege of the capital. The flight was so hurried that it was only next day that the nobles of the city heard that their Sultan had gone. As might be expected, a panic ensued, and knowing that the Imperial army was close at hand, they followed him pellmell, leaving their palaces and their effects behind. A scene then occurred which was somewhat similar to that which took place in Paris after the Franco-Prussian war, in the days of the Com-

mune. The city was for some hours in the hands of the rabble, which rose and looted every thing that it could lay hands upon. The palaces of the two Hindoo Ministers were first of all pillaged, then followed the palace of the Sultan and those of the nobility. More than four millions sterling are said to have been carried off in this manner, and everything was in a state of anarchy. "The women of the soldiers and of the inhabitants of the city were subjected to dishonour, and great disorder and destruction prevailed. Many thousand gentlemen, being unable to take horse, and carry off their property, in the greatest distress took the hands of their children and wives, many of whom could not even seize a veil or sheet to cover them, and fled to the fortress." *

As soon as the Prince heard of what was going on he marched upon the city, but before he could arrive, it had been for some time in the hands of the rioters. They do not seem to have made any opposition. "Nobles, merchants, and poorer men, vied with each other as to who by strength of arms and by expenditure of money, should get their families and property into the fortress. Before break of day, the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed, for in every part and road and market there were lakhs and lakhs of money, stuffs, carpets, horses and elephants belonging to Abu'l Hassan and his nobles. Words cannot express how many women and children of Musulmans and Hindoos were made prisoners, or how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured, carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for."

The Prince appointed officers to prevent the plunder, but a considerable time elapsed before order could be restored, and there seems little doubt that when the rioters were

*Khafi Khan—Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

subdued the Imperial troops themselves plundered on their own account. Letters were now received from Abu'l Hassan offering submission, and after some negociation the Prince promised to withdraw on payment of one million two hundred thousand sterling in addition to the usual tribute; the Hindoo Ministers were to be dismissed and the districts which had been taken from Ahmednagar province were to be restored. No sooner were these conditions accepted than the Mahomedans of Golconda rose against the Hindoo Ministers, attacked them whilst coming from the Durbar to their own houses, and killed them, sending their heads to the Imperial camp. As soon as news of these occurrences reached the Emperor he sent a letter openly approving of what had been done, but privately he censured both the Prince and the General Khan Jehan, not only for sparing the Sultan, but also for not having taken prompter steps to quell the riot. But as already related, Aurungzebe required for the present all his available forces for the siege of Bijapur. Accordingly Golconda had a brief respite, and the Prince and Khan Jehan, with the main body of the army were recalled, and only a small force of observation was left with orders to watch events from a safe distance. Saadat Khan was sent to Hyderabad as Vakeel or Ambassador, with instructions to keep Abu'l Hassan quiet with negociations regarding the indemnity and tribute, until the Emperor should be at liberty to come in person. Saadat Khan did his work well, and kept on procrastinating until he received information that Bijapur had fallen and the Emperor had arrived at Gulburga on his march to Hyderabad. Abu'l Hassan now became thoroughly alarmed, and although he still said that he was unable to send the requisite cash, he offered to send the jewels of his family, and did, in fact, send to Saadat Khan a large number of trays of jewels, on the understanding that they should be sealed up and subsequently valued. Aurungzebe, however, continued his march,

and in a few days had arrived not far from Hyderabad. Abu'l Hassan now gave up all hopes of escape by mere payment, and sent to Saadat Khan to return the jewels, but was told that they had already been sent to the Emperor. The Sultan then despatched a humble letter to Aurungzebe, but received in reply a stern letter, of which the following is the purport:*—

"The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing, but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and Government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the Seyds, Shaikhs, and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness day and night; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cost a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention had been paid to them; moreover, it had lately become known that a lakh of pagodas had been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or the next."

When Abu'l Hassan received this letter, he prepared for the worst. In his sudden flight from the city to Golconda, the Sultan seems to have displayed a great amount of weakness and pusillanimity which stands out in strong contrast to

* Khafi Khan—Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

his final defence. It is, however, with the abrupt manner in which he left his capital that fault can be found, but not with the fact, for Hyderabad city, although surrounded by a wall, on the river front, is an utterly indefensible place, whereas it took the Imperial Army more than eight months before it could gain Golconda, and then only by treachery. The defence was a heroic one, and was well worthy of the brave struggles that we have already narrated as having taken place at Ahmednagar, Dowlatabad, and Bijapur before they had to yield to the Mogul arms. We shall be excused for going more into detail as regards this memorable siege, for not only is it the record of the end of the last Deccanee kingdom, but we are fortunate in having a full account written by Khafi Khan,* who was present throughout and who does ample justice to the principal hero, whose friend he afterwards became. We have the more excuse for these details, because in the ordinary histories the episode is dismissed with a few words only.

When Abu'l Hassan saw that there was no hope of mercy or of consideration from Aurungzebe, he set his shoulder manfully to the wheel. A large body of horse, numbering about 15,000 was stationed to the rear of the Mogul army, and help was called for from Sambhajee, which was duly sent. This force gave great assistance in cutting off supplies, harassing convoys, &c. We are not told what was the strength of the garrison, but we are told that the Sultan had ample stores of provisions, and ammunition, and a very powerful battery of artillery. The men seem to have been imbued with a spirit of patriotism and hatred of the Moguls, but as regards the principal officers, the Sultan was, with two notable exceptions, deserted by almost all his nobility, who, seeing that the end was near, went over to the Emperor's camp. Ibrahim, the former Commander-in-Chief, had been given high

* Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.

rank in the Imperial army and was now one of the foremost amongst the besiegers. These two exceptions were Abdur-Razzak Lari and Abdullah Khan Pani. The former performed miracles of heroism, and as the sequel will show, ranks most deservedly amongst the bravest and most faithful of Indian soldiers. The latter unfortunately was a traitor at heart, and it would have been better for his master the Sultan if, like Ibrahim, he had openly gone over to the besieging army. The siege commenced on the 24*th Rabi-ul-awal*, (September 1687) and from this date for more than eight months not a day passed without a hot encounter. Before long the Sultan's troops outside the fort, swelled by Sambhajee's reinforcements, amounted to between forty and fifty thousand horse, and though not strong enough to engage the Imperial army, afforded the garrison considerable relief. The Emperor's son, Prince Shah Alum, was nominally in command of the army, but he soon incurred his father's displeasure from the favour with which he regarded the Sultan's overtures for peace. The same thing had already occurred at Bijapur, and the Prince's policy as heir-apparent seems to have been to gain over these Deccan Sultans, and to make peace or war dependent upon his own approval. Aurungzebe, however, was not the man to be thwarted by his own son, and as soon as he became aware of his intentions, he had him arrested and sent away in confinement. Day by day and week by week the trenches were pushed forward. Almost daily the garrison made sallies, some of which were successful, but the defenders were never able to break the line, and the toils gradually closed in on the fortress. So hot was the fire on both sides that the smoke is said to have removed the distinction between day and night. Large mounds were erected so as to command the interior of the fort, and one is still pointed out as that on which Aurungzebe's tent was pitched. In about a month's time the trenches were carried up to the edge of the moat, and attempts

were then made to fill it up by throwing in cotton bags filled with earth. Fifty thousand bags were ordered to be sent from the cotton-producing tracts of Berar, and the Emperor himself sewed the seams of the first bag thrown in. At last matters were brought so far that an escalade could be attempted. This had become necessary, for not only was there great scarcity in the Imperial camp, but pestilence had also broken out. Accordingly, after three months a surprise was attempted one dark night. Ladders were fixed and a few men succeeded in gaining the ramparts. But at this moment the garrison was alarmed by the barking of a dog, and the defenders succeeded in throwing down the ladders and in beating off the storming party. The dog which had thus given the fort another respite was given a golden collar and a plated chain, and was kept tied near the Sultan himself. Heavy rain now came on, in the midst of which another sally was made, which caused the Imperialists heavy loss, both in killed and prisoners. The latter were treated with generosity and kindness. One of them, an officer of distinction, Sarbhara Khan, was taken by the Sultan over his granaries and magazines, and then sent back to the Emperor with overtures for peace. The Sultan offered to present a crore of rupees (one million sterling) and a further crore for every time that Aurungzebe had besieged the fort; he also offered a free present of 600,000 maunds of grain; but Aurungzebe was inflexible. In spite of the straits to which his army was reduced, he replied: "If Abu-l Hassan does not repudiate my authority, he must come to me with clasped hands or he must be brought bound before me. I will then reflect what consideration I can show to him." By the month of Shaban three mines were ready to be exploded, but Abdur Razzak by countermining, succeeded in withdrawing the powder and match from one, and in drowning the other two with water. Only one mine was partially exploded, and the result was

more damage to the besiegers than to the besieged. The garrison then made a sortie, and succeeded, after desperate fighting, in gaining the trenches, which were only recovered after much slaughter. Another assault delivered under the eyes of the Emperor himself, was also repulsed, and again the garrison occupied the trenches, spiked a number of the guns, and pulled out of the moat the logs of wood, and many thousands of the bags which had been used to fill it up, using them to repair the breaches in the walls. Aurungzebe now almost despaired of success, and, force failing, tried what he could do by bribery. Abdur Razzak refused all overtures, although he was offered a high post and a *munsab* of 6,000 horse. He even went so far as to exhibit the Emperor's letter to the men in his bastion, and tore it to pieces in their presence, sending back as a message that he would fight to the death. Abdullah Khan, however, was of a different nature, and yielded to the Emperor's offers. After a siege of eight months and ten days, he one night caused a wicket to be opened and admitted Prince Muhammad Azam. The gates were then thrown open, the army entered, and the shout of victory was raised. "Abdur Razzak heard this, and springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by ten or twelve followers, rushed to the open gate through which the Imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, like a drop of water falling into a sea or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing force, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abu'l Hassan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears, that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and

the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertions kept his seat. The horse carried him to a garden, called Naquina, near the citadel, to the foot of an old cocoa-nut tree, where by the help of the tree he threw himself off. On the morning of the second day a party of men belonging to Husaini Beg passed, and recognizing him by his horse and other signs, they took compassion upon him, and carried him upon a bedstead to a house. When his own men heard of this, they came and dressed his wounds."

In the meantime Abul Hassan had met his fate in a kingly manner. When the noise and the groans convinced him that all was over, he first went into his harem to comfort his women, to ask their pardon and to take their leave. He then went into the reception hall, and placing himself upon the throne (*musnud*) he waited for his unbidden guests. As the day broke and the time came for taking his food, he ordered it to be served to him where he was. At last Ruhu-llah Khan, the Commander of the Emperor's forces, was announced and entered with his suite. The Sultan greeted them all with courtesy, conversed with them at his ease, and never for a moment forgot his dignity. He then called for his horse, and wearing on his neck a splendid row of pearls, he went with his captor to the Imperial camp. He was first taken to Prince Muhammad Azam, to whom he presented the pearls. The Prince accepted them, and placing his hand upon the Sultan's back, endeavoured to console him. The Prince then took the Sultan to the Emperor, to whom he introduced him. Aurungzebe received him courteously, and after a few days sent him to be confined in the fort of Dowlatabad, where he was kept as a state prisoner until the time of his death,

some years later. A suitable allowance was given to him, and he was allowed the society of his wives.

This was the end of the last of the Deccan Sultans, and whatever may have been the faults of Abu-l Hassan's life, it must be acknowledged that he met his misfortunes in a manner worthy of a king.

It now only remains to narrate the fortunes of his brave general Abdur Razzak. We cannot better do than quote from Khafi Khan, the generous enemy who has already paid tribute to his prowess:—"Abdur Razzak, senseless, but with a spark of life remaining, was carried to the house of Ruhu-llah Khan. As soon as the eyes of Saf-Shikan Khan fell upon him, he cried out: 'This is that vile Lari! Cut off his head, and hang it over the gate!' Ruhu-llah replied that to cut off the head of a dying man without orders, when there was no hope of his surviving was far from being humane. A little bird made the matter known to Aurungzebe, who had heard of Abdur Razzak's daring and courage and loyalty, and he graciously ordered that two surgeons, one a European, the other a Hindoo, should be sent to attend the wounded man, who were to make daily reports of his condition. The Emperor also sent for Ruhu-llah Khan and told him that if Abu-l Hassan had possessed only one more servant devoted like Abdur Razzak, it would have taken much longer time to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted nearly seventy wounds, besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his cure. At the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened one eye and spoken a few faltering words, expressing a hope of recovery. Aurungzebe sent a message to him forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son, Abdu-l Kadir, with his other sons, that they might

receive suitable *munsabs* and honours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and peerless hero, he gasped out a few words of reverence and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service; but should he be ever capable of service, he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abu-l Hassan, and had thriven on his bounty, could enter the service of King Aurungzebe. On hearing these words a cloud was seen to pass over the face of his Majesty, but he kindly said: "When he is quite well let me know."

Eventually Abdur Razzak recovered, and again refused to come to the Emperor's presence, asking to be allowed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Aurungzebe now became angry, and orders were sent to arrest him but Firoz Jung managed to convey him away to his own house, and there kept him in concealment. After a year Abdur Razzak thought better of the Emperor's offer, he could no longer do any good to his fallen master, and so he entered the Imperial service with a *mansub* of 4,000 and 3,000 horse.

The plunder taken at Golconda amounted to eight lakhs and fifty-one thousand *huns* (golden coins or pagodas) and two crores and fifty-three thousand rupees, altogether six crores eighty lakhs and ten thousand rupees (*circa*, seven millions sterling), besides jewels, inlaid articles and vessels of gold and silver; the copper coin (*dams*) amounted to 1,15,16,00,000, equal to about 2½ millions sterling.

We have now arrived at the close of the Mahomedan kingdoms of the Deccan. For the next thirty years this portion of India remained a province of Delhi. The Great Delhi Emperor had succeeded in absorbing the Mahomedan States, which had to a certain extent kept the Mahrattas in check, and he was now left face to face with the despised

infidels. But in spite of all its magnificence and apparent power, Imperialism was rotten to the core. Aurungzebe continued to reign for about fifteen years, but during the whole of that time, in spite of all attempts, he was unable to exterminate the Mahrattas. Their power continued to increase, and was a rock upon which the flood of Imperialism was destined te be broken. But this belongs to another period of Deccan history, and at present there only remains to tell how after thirty years another Mahomedan kingdom arose and took the place of that of Golconda.

PART III.

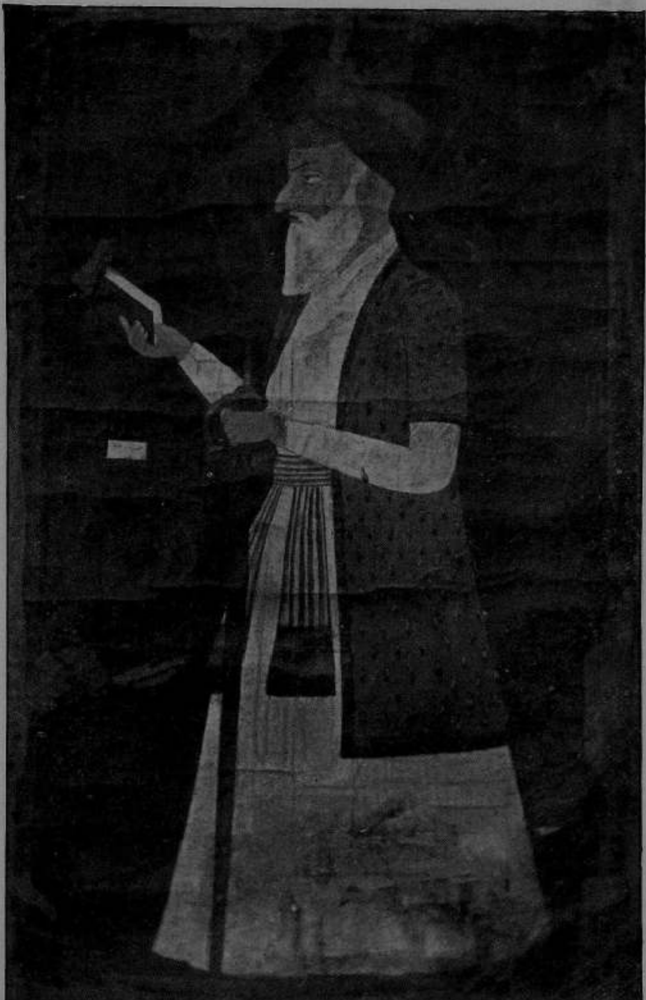
AN EMPIRE IN RUINS.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE KING-MAKERS.

In this section the scene lies principally in Delhi and the North of India, but as the events led to the establishment of a new Kingdom in the Deccan and the persons are intimately connected with Deccan affairs it has been deemed advisable to relate the incidents at some length, especially as the period referred to is very summarily treated in the usual histories.

After the fall of Golconda, Aurungzebe was free to turn his attention to the Mahrattas. Mr. Stanley Lane Pool seems to think that the conquest of the Deccan kingdoms was chiefly intended as the first step towards the destruction of this nation of robbers and freebooters, since with their fall the large subsidies paid by them to the Mahrattas would cease. Accordingly a governor was placed in charge of Hyderabad and Golconda, and the Emperor marched westwards in order to finally crush that 'hell-dog' Sambajee. At first the Emperor's arms were everywhere successful. The whole of the territories belonging to Bijapur and Golconda were taken possession of by his generals down as far south as Tanjore. So great was the respect shown to the Emperor's



Asaf Jah (from an old picture).

authority that it was the custom of his generals to send one of his slippers placed on a splendid howdah, carried by an elephant in gorgeous trappings and conducted by a force of cavalry and infantry. When the slipper arrived at the capital of a native Prince he was expected to meet the slipper outside his capital and conduct it, followed by his nobles and troops with their ensigns lowered, to the Durbar hall in the Palace. There the slipper was placed upon the throne and the Prince himself had to pay it obeisance. This having been done, the general in charge was presented with costly presents, the tribute money was sent to him in sealed bags, and the slipper marched on in state to the next kingdom, where a similar pageant was gone through. On the occasion of a ceremonial procession of this kind soon after the accession of a new king (Runga-Kistna-Naicker, circa 1698) * the slipper, accompanied by twelve thousand cavalry, from thirty to forty thousand infantry, and two Nawabs, arrived outside Trichinopoly and a message was despatched by means of peons with silver sticks and silver breast-plates, that the Imperial mandate had come. "As the king was young he enquired of the *sirdars* about him what this meant. They replied: 'It is the *Padshah's* firman, *i.e.*, a slipper placed in a howdah attended with various banners and troops, which is sent to the rulers of kingdoms, and these kings go forth to meet it; treat it with respect; take it with those that accompany it to their capital; give presents to these, and paying to them tribute money, send them away. As this is the established rule, and the mandate is now sent to this capital we also treat it in the same respectful manner.' On hearing this the young king became angry, but dissembling his intentions gave presents to the peons and sent out his own ambassadors, who were instructed to plead sickness on his behalf, but to contrive so that the embassy was brought into the town. This the emis-

* Taylor's *Manuscripts*, Vol. II. p. 205.

saries appear to have done with success, and by first fixing one place and then another as the spot where the king would meet them, induced the Nawabs to come inside the fort gate. There being still no king the Nawabs said with anger: 'Is your king not come? have you such obstinate pride?' But the others said: 'Our king from the effect of sickness is not able to enter a palankeen, come with us to the gates of the palace.' They accordingly came with the mandate to the gates of Sri-Runga-Kistnappa-Muthu-Virapa-Naicker's palace. As the king still did not appear, they came still closer to the palace entry; when, thinking that a want of respect was implied by waiting there, they took the mandate from the howdah, placed it in a palankeen, and, not without anger, carried it into the hall of the throne. Meanwhile the king had invested himself with all the paraphernalia of his dignity, and in the midst of a great number of his friends was seated on his throne, when the Padshah's Nawabs, and principal men, having taken the *Farmana* in their hands, had brought it into the hall of the throne. Seeing that the king did not pay the smallest token of respect either to the *Farmana* or themselves, they were excessively angry, and pushing aside such persons as stood in their way in the hall of audience, they came near and offered to give the *Farmana* into the hands of the king. The king, being very angry, bid them place it on the floor. But paying no attention to his command and not putting the slipper down, they again offered to give it into his hands. Thereupon the king called for people with whips: and adding. 'Will the Padshah's people put the *Farmana* down or not? let us see,' further summoned people with rattan canes. As the king was calling aloud, they became terribly afraid and put the *Farmana* down on the floor. The king, seeing this, placed one of his feet within the slipper and addressing the people said: 'How comes it that your Padshah has lost even common sense? When sending

foot furniture for such kind of persons as ourselves, why does he not send two slippers instead of one? Therefore do you speedily go back, and bring here another slipper!' While he thus spoke they answered with all the vivacity of anger. On which the king became excessively incensed and had them all beaten and driven away. In consequence, on going outside the fort they assembled all their troops and began to make war. The king on hearing this intelligence, sent outside the fort five thousand cavalry and a great force of infantry which fell upon the Padshah's troops and cut them up piecemeal. As they could not make a successful stand, they ran away, and reported these occurrences to the Padshah. He, thinking on the matter, considered that if he were for the future to send such a message, the disgrace done to it now, by the daring of one, would be imitated by others: he was therefore induced by this high bearing of Raja-Runga-Kistna-Muttu-Virapa-Naicker, thenceforwards to cease the sending of the *Farmana* to the different rulers of countries."

The foregoing account is from a Hindoo source, and there is nothing in any of the Mahomedan histories which in any way confirms it. It is probably exaggerated, especially as regards the numbers of the Mahomedan army who were put to flight. It shows, however, that previous to the incident, which occurred before the end of the seventeenth century, the custom of sending the slipper had been for some years in force, since the Trichinopoly Sirdars were acquainted with it, and that the Emperor's over-rule was recognized; for as the first impulse of the Sirdars was to show respect to the slipper, it is clear that for some time previously the Emperor's rule extended and was recognized as far south as Trichinopoly. In the account of the transactions of the latter years of Aurungzebe's reign, translated by Scott from the narrative of a Bondela officer, we are told that in 1693 Zulficcar Khan, the Emperor's great general, of whom we shall hear more

later on, marched sixty coss from Gingee into the territories of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and collected considerable contributions from the Zemindars. The slipper embassy was probably subsequent to this expedition and it was only five or six years later, when Aurungzebe's whole attention was taken up with the Mahrattas, that so flagrant an insult could have been committed. Without therefore relying on the exact accuracy of the incident as here given, it proves that soon after the fall of Golconda the Emperor's armies over-ran the whole of the territories of that State and of Bijapur and exercised a certain amount of control over the hitherto independent Pandia kingdom of Trichinopoly.

But we must now return to the affairs of the Deccan proper. The Emperor with the main body of his army marched from Hyderabad through Gulburga to Bijapur. A number of the Deccanee nobles and generals came in and submitted and were rewarded with munsabs and military charges. Amongst others was Sheikh Nizam Hyderabadee, who was honoured with the title of Khan Humman and despatched on an expedition against Sumbajee, that "vile dog" who for so long had defied the great Emperor with impunity. Sumbajee had at this period almost entirely withdrawn himself from the field. His armies were despatched in various directions on marauding expeditions, and he himself remained shut up in the fort of Sungumeshwar, where he imagined himself safe amongst his native hills. Khan Humman, however, was able to take him by surprise, and making a rapid march from Kolapur arrived at the gates of the fort and succeeded in entering before they could be closed. Sumbajee himself was intoxicated, and though most of his followers succeeded in making their escape, twenty-four of his principal chiefs defended him with bravery. They were, however, all taken prisoners; and Sumbajee together with his prime minister Kuloosha were brought before the Emperor.

It is said that Aurungzebe intended to spare him, so as to induce him to restore the forts which were still in his possession, and with this object in view offered him his life if he would become a Mussulman. "Tell the Emperor," said Sumbajee, "that if he will give me his daughter I will become a Mahomedan," and concluded his reply by an invective on the prophet.* Exasperated by this insult the Emperor ordered him to be executed, which was done in a most barbarous manner. A red hot iron was drawn across his eyes, his tongue was cut out, his skin flayed from his body, and his head cut off. (August 1689.) The news of this barbarous murder of the son of the great Sivajee only served to exasperate the Mahratta nation still more against the Moguls, and the war was therefore carried on on both sides with even more bitterness than before.

Aurungzebe's Prime Minister at this time was Assud Khan, and his son Yeatikad Khan was despatched with a large force to invade the Concan. He was fortunate enough to obtain possession of Yessoo Bhai, Sumbajee's widow, and her son Sivajee, who had been declared as his father's successor, with his uncle Rajah Ram as regent. These two prisoners were taken to the Emperor's camp, where they were kindly received, and the boy, being only six years of age, was adopted by Aurungzebe's daughter. He seems to have been taken notice of by the Emperor, who called him Sahoo or Shao, and by this name he was always afterwards known. Yeatikad Khan was highly honoured for this capture, and the title of Zulficcar Khan was bestowed upon him, under which name he henceforward played a conspicuous part.

Rajah Ram, with a large force, then set off for the strong fort of Gingee, which is situated in the present district of South Arcot, about 50 miles inland from Pondicherry. The remains of the fort show that it must at one time have been

* Grant Duff, Vol. I. p. 306.

of considerable strength. It is built on a small circular range of rocky hills which are isolated in the plain. A wall connects the whole of this range, and strong forts are built at the mouth of each entrance or valley. The ground thus enclosed contains several square miles, and is capable of growing grain required for the garrison. There are also large reservoirs which are fed not only by springs but by water-courses from the hill sides, so that the place was capable of maintaining a lengthened siege without any relief from outside. This fort formed the stronghold of the Mahrattas in the south of India, and the outpost of their possessions in Tanjore. The siege of this important place lasted for very nearly ten years from 1689 until 1698, but there seems to be no doubt that operations were purposely delayed owing to intrigues amongst the generals. The Bondela officer, from whose journal Scott has compiled his history of this portion of Aurungzebe's reign, says that the total ruin of the Mahratta power might have been effected with ease many years before but the Amras delayed on purpose, and secretly assisted each other to draw out the war to a never-ending length for their own advantage, also dreading that when the Emperor should have finally reduced the Deccan, he would carry his arms to Candahar and Balkh, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who did not wish to encounter the hardships of the north.* During the greater part of the siege of Gingee, Zulficcar Khan was in chief command, though for a portion of the time he was superseded by Prince Kaum Buksh, Aurungzebe's favourite son. Soon after the Prince's arrival rumours began to circulate that the Emperor was ill and was not likely to recover. In the event of the throne becoming vacant it was necessary for the success of any aspirant that he should be at headquarters in order to assert his claim. Accordingly the Prince began

* It is alleged that documents exist which show that Aurungzebe's secret intention was ultimately to found a great Empire in Central Asia.

to make secret overtures to the Mahrattas and on this coming to the ears of Zulficcar Khan he promptly had the Prince arrested and confined in his own tent. This was an act of masterfulness that Kaum Buksh never forgave, and he never let an opportunity pass of showing the dislike he felt for the general, a dislike which seems to have been cordially and implacably returned. Nevertheless the siege of Gingee had to be raised, for the imperial army was so reduced by sickness and want of provisions that it had to withdraw into quarters. Zulficcar Khan and the Prince were summoned to the Emperor's camp, and although Aurungzebe openly accepted his son's explanation and blamed the general, as a matter of fact he kept the Prince for some time in honourable confinement and employed his lieutenant on active service. Zulficcar Khan was a brave and ambitous general. When he really meant fighting he invariably beat the Mahrattas, but it is said that he secretly intended to establish himself in the Carnatic with the object, when the opportunity came, of making himself independent. If this is true, it was unfortunate for him that he relinquished the idea, for though after Aurungzebe's death Zulficcar Khan enjoyed for a few years the power and the wealth of a king-maker at Delhi, his career ended at last with murder and spoliation, whereas another, following out his original ambition, actually achieved independence and became the founder of a royal line that still rules in the Deccan.

The date of this incident was 1696, and from this time Aurungzebe seems to have adopted a fresh policy in his campaign against the Mahrattas. A new force was despatched into the Carnatic to besiege Gingee, and the Deccan army was divided into two portions. The one, a flying column, was sent under Zulficcar Khan to beat up the Mahrattas wherever they could be found, whilst with the main body the Emperor himself sat down to besiege the hill forts one after the other, Chin Koolich Khan, a name destined to become famous in the Deccan, was left as Governor of Bijapur.

In pursuance of this plan the Emperor successively besieged and captured Sattara, Panalla, Vishalgurh, Singurh, Purunda, Rajgurh, Poona, and Waikankara; whilst in the open field Zulficcar Khan constantly defeated the Mahratta armies when he could meet them face to face. But in spite of this marvellous perserverance of an old man bordering on ninety, Aurungzebe was never able to make any lasting impression on the "mountain rats." Young Sahoo was still kept in the Emperor's camp. Rajah Ram, his uncle, who at first acted as Regent, was dead, and the real leader of the Mahratta nation was Tara Bhai, Sumbajee's widow and stepmother to Sahoo. Tara Bhai was a second Queen Chand, and deserves a lasting place in the ranks of noble queens and heroines. She became the life and soul of the Mahrattas, and sent out army after army with instructions to avoid all conflict in the open field, but to harass the imperial armies in the rear, to cut off their supplies, and to carry raids far beyond the confines of the Deccan. Aurungzebe' spersistency and doggedness in his attempts to break up the Mahratta confederacy had the very opposite effect to what he intended, and it is said that the Mahrattas themselves offered up prayers for the preservation of the Emperor's life and therefore for the prolongation of his policy. So successful were the Mahrattas in their raids that on several occasions the huge imperial camp was reduced almost to starvation, and was so hemmed in on all sides that no one dared to leave its limits. The Deccan itself was reduced to the state of a desert. All the Emperor's supplies and money had to be drawn from the north. His governors at Hyderabad and Bijapur could only with difficulty make small collections, and even there they had to dispute with the Mahratta tax collectors, who boldly levied their *chouth*, or one quarter of the revenue, throughout the imperial provinces. But nothing could bend the will of the stern old Emperor. Hunger and reverses did not subdue it, and though

on at least two occasions his camp was well nigh carried away by floods, he still pursued his life of self-abnegation, resolved to conquer or to die. Zulficcar Khan was again despatched to carry on the siege of Gingee, and received a hint that it would be well for him to show more energy. This time he was not trammelled by the presence of a royal Prince, and Gingee at last yielded to his arms (1698), and, the strength of the Mahrattas in the South Carnatic being broken, the general was left free to return to the principal seat of the war in the Deccan. Here the same system of operations was carried on. Aurungzebe laid siege to one fort after another, and Zulficcar Khan hurried from province to province in pursuit of the elusive Mahrattas. In one campaign alone he is said to have marched 2,000 coss, or about 4,000 miles, a distance which is surely somewhat exaggerated. It is scarcely within the province of this work to follow in detail all Aurungzebe's movements. It is true that the scene of them lay in the Deccan, but they have been so exhaustively discussed by Grant Duff that it would be useless to go over the same ground. Each year was a repetition of the previous one. Nothing decisive was ever gained by the Emperor. The forts he took one year were frequently retaken in the following one, when he had moved on to begin again the same wearisome story. During the whole of this time the Mahrattas gradually increased in strength and daring. Their bands harried the country from Mysore up to Guzerat, and a strong central system of Government was organized at Poona. Fifty years before, Aurungzebe had found Sivajee at the head of a comparatively small body of robbers. When he died Sivajee's grandson ruled over a well organized Government and a nation imbued with the spirit of plunder.

The time had at last come for the great Emperor to leave this life of unrest and struggles. Nearly ninety years of age, he had ruled for almost fifty. All those who had crossed his

path, whether father, brothers, sons or nephews, had come to a violent end, in battle, or else by the more secret means of the dagger or the poison bowl. For the last twenty years of his life he had lived in a camp and endured hardships far greater than some of his luxurious followers. Right or wrong he had unswervingly carried out the line of policy he had laid down for himself, and now, as he felt his end approaching, he saw his plans thwarted, his enemies flourishing, his sons at discord with one another, and the whole fabric of Empire crumbling away as it were to pieces. Towards the end of 1706 he marched into Ahmednagar, the capital of the old Nizam Shahi kings, and on the day he marched in, he himself exclaimed that his last campaign was finished. Remembering his own fight for the throne, he sent his three sons away to their different governments, separated as far as possible from one another. The eldest, subsequently known as Bahadur Shah, was in Cabul; Azim Shah was sent to Malwa, and Kaum Buksh, his youngest and favourite, to Bijapur. To the eldest son the Emperor seems to have sent no message, and to have made no sign, and he probably thought that he was too far removed to have a chance of succeeding. But shortly before he died he wrote a letter to Azim Shah and another to Kaum Buksh, both of which are so pathetic that they must be given *in extenso*.*

To Shah Azim Shah.

"Health to thee! My heart is near thee! Old age has arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power has left only sorrow behind

* Eradat Khan, translated by Scott (also Elliot and Dowson). These letters are not to my knowledge reproduced in any of the histories. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole gives an extract from one in his monograph, *Aurangzib*.

it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience) but his glorious light was unseen by my dimmed sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing remains of me but skin and bone. My son Kaum Buksh, though gone towards Bijapur, is still near; thou my son art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem Shah Alum (Bahadur Shah) is far distant and my grandson (Azim Ushan) by the orders of God is arrived near Hindoostan. The camp followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself full of affliction, restless as quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and except the infirmities of man carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have a strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet regarding my actions fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedar Bukht son of Azim Shah) whom I cannot see but the desire affects me. The Begum (his favourite daughter) appears afflicted but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!"

To the Prince Kaum Buksh.

"My Son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignifiance,

what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of the caravan has deserted me. The fever which troubled me for twelve days has left me. Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great, but alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness and my feet have lost the power of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes and know not with what punishment I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive no care was taken and now the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shah is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain or their miseries will fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahadur Shah is still where he was, and his son has arrived near Hindustan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzerat. Hyut al Nissa (his daughter the Begum), who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odeypooree*, your mother, was a partner in my illness and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before.

* It is questioned whether this is not a mistake for Jodhporee, as a princess of Jodhpore was sent to Aurungzebe's zenana. The house of Odeypore claims to have never contributed a Princess to the Mahomedan Emperors.

Dara Shakoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself, that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul: but I see that mine is departing."

Reading between the lines of these letters there seems little doubt that Aurungzebe's sympathies were in favour of Kaum Buksh. Both this Prince and Azim Shah, though they had purposely been sent off to their respective governments of Bijapur and Malwa, were cognizant that their father's death was imminent, and remained therefore as near as possible. Bahadur Shah was supposed to be too far away to be dangerous, but as the sequel showed, he also had laid his plans with the greatest care and caution. Azim Shah's general was the redoubted Zulficcar Khan, between whom and Kaum Buksh there was an undying hatred dating back from the incident which occurred at the siege of Gingee, already alluded to.

Eradat Khan, who had for a long time been in attendance on the Emperor, gives a touching sketch of his last interview with his old master, which must have taken place only shortly before the latter's death. Eradat Khan had been appointed to an important command at Aurungabad, and "on the evening before my departure, the Emperor, opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him and said: 'Absence now takes place between us and our meeting again is uncertain. Forgive then whatever willingly or unwillingly I may have done against thee, and pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times with sincerity of heart. As thou hast served me long, I also forgive thee whatever knowingly or otherwise, thou mayest have done against me.' Upon hearing these words my sobs became like a knot in

my throat, so that I had not power to speak. At last after his majesty had repeatedly pressed me I made shift to pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy sobs. He shed many tears, repeated the words, and after blessing me, ordered me to retire."* There is something very pathetic in the picture of this old man dying alone in the midst of a large camp, haunted by the memories of past crimes, and by the forms of those nearest to him in blood who had crossed his path and had been done to death, and with a vague dread of a retribution to come. "I have committed numerous crimes and know not with what punishment I may be seized." Such is his own confession, and the feeling must have been rendered acute by the consciousness that his "valuable time had been passed vainly." His long life had in fact been a failure, and the work which during the last twenty years of his life he had set himself to do with stubbornness of purpose and inflexibility of will, was not only undone but he was leaving his empire in a far worse position than it had been when he took it by force from his father's grasp. "Every plan that he formed came to little good; every enterprize failed," is the verdict of the Mahomedan historian who praises him for his "devotion, austerity and justice; and for his incomparable courage, long-suffering and judgment." But in spite of the admiration which is due to the many great qualities in Aurungzebe's character it seems difficult if not impossible to join with those who regard him as a martyr, as a man who "had pitted his conscience against the world, and the world triumphed over it," or as one who "lived, and died in leading a forlorn hope, and if ever the cross of heroic devotion to a lost cause belonged to mortal man it was his."† The real truth is that the cause he was devoted to was his own advancement, and in order to achieve that he did not

* Scott's Translation.

† Stanley Lane Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 205.

scruple to wade through blood towards the throne he longed for. Fratricide had for him no terrors, and the obligation of filial respect or paternal love no weight. To us he seems more like a narrow-minded bigot with such a load of guilt on his conscience that he mistrusted all mankind. No doubt his conscience reproached him for the crimes of his youth, but can it be said that this deterred him from the commission of others in his old age? The relentlessness with which, for no reason, he brought about the ruin of the Deccan kings, and the barbarous manner in which he treated the Mahratta Sumbajee, show that the old Adam was still alive in him, and that what he had done in 1656 he would not have hesitated to do forty years later had the same obstacles been in his path.

Aurungzebe's death occurred on the 21st of February, 1707, and three days afterwards Azim Shah, who was then 54 years of age, arrived at Ahmednagar, took possession of the Imperial camp, and a week later formally ascended the throne. The remains of the deceased Emperor were despatched to Aurungabad, where they were buried in a tomb which he had prepared during his life-time. Azim Shah at once commenced a leisurely march for Agra, having been joined by several of the important chiefs, such as Chin Koolich Khan, with his father Feroze Jung, and Mahomed Ameen Khan, who for this purpose deserted the service of Kaum Buksh. This latter Prince evidently felt himself too weak to make an attempt for the throne. He was only forty years of age and could bide his time. Accordingly he retired to his seat of Government at Bijapur, and leaving his two elder brothers to fight it out, occupied himself with collecting an army in the Deccan with which he resolved to encounter the conqueror. The route chosen by Azim Shah was, though shorter as the crow flies, a very hilly and difficult one, and the consequence was that before he reached Agra a number of his men were lost

by disease and by want. Bedar Bukht, Azim Shah's son, who was in Guzerat, was ordered to march in order to join his father's army near Agra. This order was at once obeyed and the Prince set off with only three thousand men, without waiting to raise a larger army, although at the time there was a considerable amount of money in the treasury. The fact is that Bedar Bukht had been greatly attached to his grandfather, Aurungzebe, and had therefore excited his father's jealousy, and he was afraid that, if he met him with anything like a considerable force, Azim Shah might suspect him of entertaining designs against the throne. Eradat Khan, who was in this Prince's confidence, tells us much of the strained relations between father and son, and there seems to be very little doubt that the Prince did really harbour the thought of supplanting his father.

In the meantime Bahadur Shah, although far off in Cabul, and already an old man of 64, had not been idle. When despatched to this distant government, he had accepted what was really a banishment without a word of complaint. To his own sons, who were with him, and to his friends he said that he had given up all idea of ever succeeding to the throne. When news of Aurungzebe's sickness reached him, he said that in the event of his father's death he would not dispute the throne with Azim Shah, but would retire into Persia and claim hospitality from the Shah. So persistent was he in these statements that not only were they believed by his own family but they also served to dispel all suspicions at head-quarters, and he was looked upon accordingly as a negligeable quantity, too far removed by age and by distance from any chance of rivalry. Bahadur Shah's Dewan or principal minister was one Monuaim Khan, who was thoroughly faithful and attached to his master. This officer had for some time been employed in organizing and reforming the Prince's army and household. He had therefore a claim to his confidence, and

accordingly he one day questioned him regarding his future plans. Subsequently he related what took place to Eradat Khan, who has given us his statement in his own words:

"When I perceived that my attachment, sincerity, and abilities had properly impressed Shah Alam's mind, and that he was convinced that I was a prudent, faithful, and secret servant, being alone with him one day, conversing on the affairs of the Empire, I took the liberty of thus addressing him: 'It is reported that your Highness intends flying to Persia, with so much confidence that even the Princes your sons assure me by sacred oaths of its truth.' He replied: 'In this rumour their lies concealed a great design, to forward which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First, because my father, on a mere suspicion of my disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement, and should he even now think I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. Secondly, my brother Mahomed Azim Shah, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme of rashness, would exert all his force against me. From this report my father is easy and my brother lulled into self-security; but by the *Almighty God, who gave me life* (laying his hand on the Koran by him) and on this holy book, I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet Azim Shah in single combat, wherever he may be! This secret which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it.'"*

The confidence thus shown was not misplaced. Monuaim Khan at once went to Lahore, which formed the key of the road to Delhi, and there quickly made the necessary preparations, so that everything should be ready when the time came to strike the decisive blow. Bodies of troops were

* Eradat Khan, *Memoirs of the Mogul Empire.* Scott, Vol. II.

collected and stationed in garrisons, so that they could be picked up completely equipped *en route*. A regular stage of communication was opened out towards the Deccan on one side and through the Khyber pass to Cabul on the other, so that any news could be transmitted with the utmost despatch. Tavernier tells us that messages of importance were generally conveyed by foot-runners instead of by horsemen, and that runners were able to beat horsemen over a long distance. "The reason is," says this entertaining traveller (Ball's edition, vol. i. 291) "that at every two leagues there are small huts, where two or three men employed for running, live and immediately when the carrier of a letter has arrived at one of these huts he throws it to the others at the entrance, and one of them takes it up and at once sets off to run. It is considered unlucky to give a letter into the hand of a messenger; it is therefore thrown at his feet and he must lift it up. It is still to be remarked that throughout India, the greater part of the roads are like avenues of trees, and those which have not trees planted, have at every 500 paces small pieces of stone which the inhabitants of the nearest villages are bound to whiten from time to time, so that the letter carriers can distinguish the roads on dark and rainy nights." The distance which the messengers would have to travel between Ahmednagar, where Aurungzebe died, and Cabul, could not have been less than 2,000 miles, and the road by which troops could march from Cabul to Agra is not less than 1,200 miles, but yet so great was the despatch used by Bahadur Shah that although the old Emperor only died on the 28th Zilkad, in little more than 2½ months from that time the Prince had forestalled his brother; had taken possession of Agra, and was able to deliver a decisive battle on the 80th day after Aurungzebe's decease. Immediately Bahadur Shah received the news of his father's death he started off post haste for Lahore, where he found a body of troops ready and

a strong force of artillery prepared and kept in readiness by the faithful Monuaim Khan. Without a day's delay the Prince hurried on, picking up fresh levies on his way, and in this manner was able to reach Agra several days before his brother, who had leisurely marched up from the Deccan never dreaming of finding a rival to dispute his throne. Eradat Khan, who was with Azim Shah's army, attached to the person of his son Bedar Bukht, says that "such vanity took possession of the mind of Azim Shah that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of Toor and Sullum, durst not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence, so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival."* From this dream of security, however, there was a rude awakening; for, when he arrived at Muttra, about 20 miles from Agra, he was met by a message from Bahadur Shah offering to divide the kingdom with him. So magnanimous was the elder brother that he even left to the younger the choice of the division. The offer was, however, haughtily refused, and on the following day (18 Rubbee ul Awal A. H. 1119=23rd May 1707) the two armies met for the decisive struggle. Prince Bedar Bukht commanded the advance guard, Zulficcar Khan the left wing, and Azim Shah the main body of the army. Bahadur Shah had with him a considerable army, and, assisted by his four sons, advanced to the attack in a compact form. Azim Shah's order seems to have been very loose, and he foolishly left the main body of his army and advanced to the support of his son Bedar Bukht, who was engaged with the vanguard. Zulficcar Khan on the left wing was also attacked, and, though he was able to hold his own, his

*Scott's Translation.

force was greatly weakened by the defection of his Rajpoot allies, who fled at the fall of their chiefs, Ram Singh and Dulput Row, who were killed by the same cannon ball. The day was actually decided by the defeat of the vanguard of Azim Shah's army, and the main body does not seem to have been engaged. Azim Shah and Bedar Bukht both fell fighting bravely, and when this occurred the rest of the army took to flight. Zulficcar Khan, seeing that the day was lost, escaped to Gwalior and took refuge with his father Assud Khan. In this manner, after a comparatively easy victory, Bahadur ascended the throne.

Zulficcar Khan's conduct in the battle is open to some doubt, and there were certainly many who suspected him of having wilfully refrained from assisting Azim Shah. The result seems to justify these suspicions, because although Monuaim Khan was with justice made Vizier, Zulficcar Khan was created Ameer-ul-Amra, with the post of chief paymaster and the government of the Deccan. His father, Assud Khan, received the honorary post of Vakeel Muttaluk, which though of considerable dignity, carried with it no real power.

"Shah Alam Bahadur Shah was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability and discerning of merit. He had seen the strict exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years. Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours, equal, if not superior, to their merits, so that the public forgot the excellences and great qualities of Aurungzebe, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor." (Eradat Khan). His court was a very splendid one and his throne was surrounded by seventeen princes of the blood, for he permitted even the sons of those princes who had fallen in battle against him to appear fully armed in his presence.

The only danger remaining to the Emperor was in the

Deccan. There, Kaum Buksh had the Khutba read in his name, in Bijapur and Hyderabad coins had been struck, and he had assumed all the signs of royalty. This Prince was a man of considerable intelligence but of a very violent and hasty temper. Although the favourite son of Aurungzebe, it is said by Eradat Khan that he seldom remained for more than a month in his father's society without getting into some trouble or disgrace. He was rash and impulsive, very overbearing in manner, and at the same time possessed of an inordinate self-conceit. Aurungzebe probably with a view of helping him, had attached some of the most powerful of the nobles to his service. One of the principal of these was Ghazee-ud-Din Feroze Jung, a Turanian Mogul whose power and influence in the Deccan was very great. As already mentioned, the son of this nobleman was Chin Koolich Khan, the future founder of a new dynasty. Forgetful of the assistance which these two powerful chieftains could have rendered to him, Kaum Buksh not only made no attempts to conciliate, but estranged and disgusted them by his arbitrary and domineering conduct. Feroze Jung, who had for some time been blind, withdrew from the Deccan entirely, and having accepted a small Government in Guzerat relinquished for good all prominent share in public affairs. Koolich Khan remained in the Deccan but kept aloof together with his retainers from all connection with the headstrong young Prince who was evidently bent upon consummating his own destruction. This example was followed by several other noblemen, until at last the Prince was left unsupported except by his own personal retainers. Kaum Buksh made Hyderabad his headquarters, and nothing daunted at the defection of his followers refused all overtures of the Emperor and declared that he would fight out the struggle for the throne until the bitter end.

In the meantime Bahadur Shah, after having made the

arrangements necessary for the settlement of his new Empire, collected an immense army, with which he started to subdue his rebellious brother. It is said that the expedition contained a hundred thousand more men than did any army of Aurungzebe's, but this seems to be scarcely likely. Before entering the Deccan with this strong force Bahadur Shah made another and last attempt at conciliation, and wrote to Kaum Buksh a letter in which he said: "Our ever honoured father resigned to you Bijapur; but we give you in addition, Hyderabad. These two extensive countries, long famous for great kings, producing a revenue more than half of Hindustan, we leave to you, without interference or reluctance, and shall esteem you dearer than our own children. Think not then of contention nor consent to shed the blood of the faithful nor disturb the repose of our Government. If you give the ear of acceptance to this advice, we will further confer upon you the Nizamat of Deccan if agreeable to you; and after visiting the sacred tomb of our father we will return to Hindustan." * Kaum Buksh paid no attention to this overture, which was made with all sincerity, but continued to make his preparations. But as the Emperor drew nearer the defections of his noblemen continued to increase. Many were gained over by messages from the Vizier Monuaim Khan promising them pardon and reward; and others, seeing the hopelessness of the cause, left him to return to their homes. When Bahadur Shah had arrived within 25 miles of Hyderabad, Kaum Buksh's army consisted of only 10,000 of the worst Deccan horse and a small force of artillery. With this insignificant army the infatuated Prince even yet expected to gain a victory, and giving up the protection of the city walls marched forth to meet the Imperial army. Bahadur

* The word Hindustan is always understood to refer to the upper Ganges valley, and is not used as we use it to apply to the whole Peninsula.

Shah, still willing to spare his brother, forbade his troops to attack, but the Prince, mistaking this forbearance for fear, himself led the charge. Zulficcar Khan, his old enemy, then obtained permission to advance with a small force, and if possible to capture the Prince alive. As soon as the Prince's followers saw that an attack was really intended they fled in all directions, leaving their leader almost alone. "Notwithstanding this, he continued as long as he had strength to use his bow and arrows from his elephant, till at length he sank down on his seat through loss of blood from several wounds. He was then taken prisoner by Daoud Khan, and carried to the Prince Jehan Shah, who with his brothers (sons of the Emperor) had stood at some distance during this extraordinary skirmish."* He was carried to the Imperial tents and there treated by his brother with every kindness, but it was all of no avail and he died the same evening from the effects of his wounds. Kaum Buksh in the violence of his ambition threw away the chance of an empire even greater than that of his brother. The Deccan, united under one Prince, who was also a member of the Imperial family, and acknowledged by and allied to the Emperor himself, would before long have developed into a strong and homogeneous kingdom extending from sea to sea, and from the Vindhyas to Cape Comorin. Such a kingdom was the only possible means of subduing the Mahrattas, and by it the disjointed Hindoo kingdoms of the south would have been conquered without difficulty. It is probable that the course of history would have been far different if, when some forty years later the English began to take an active interest in the political affairs of South India, they had come into contact with a strongly established Mahomeden king of the Deccan.

Bahadur Shah resolved to return at once to his capital, and was perhaps deterred from remaining any longer in the Deccan

* Eradat Khan, Scott's Translation.

by the memory of his father's fate, who, thinking after the capture of Sumbajee that only two or three matters remained to be settled, stopped on and then got entangled in so many operations that he was never able to leave the country. Before leaving, however, the Emperor took one important step with the object of conciliating the Mahrattas. This was the release of Sahoo, Sumbajee's son who had for the last twenty years been following the Emperor's camp.* This step was taken in consequence of the advice of Zulficcar Khan, who as before stated had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. Sahoo's mother, brother, and family were, however, kept as hostages of his good conduct. This being done, the Emperor leaving Sahoo to establish himself, marched back to Agra, where for the present we will leave him in order to follow the affairs of the Deccan.

During Sahoo's long confinement, his uncle Rajah Ram and afterwards his father's second wife Tara Bhai had conducted the Mahratta affairs. Tara Bhai governed in the name of her son, who, however, was an idiot, and the real power remained in her hands. This power she did not feel disposed to at once relinquish, and, pretending that Sahoo was nothing but an impostor, called upon her ministers to help her in opposing him and to swear fidelity to her son. Daoud Khan, who had been left by Zulficcar Khan as Deputy Governor of the Deccan, had been instructed to give Sahoo every assistance in his power. Accordingly the latter was soon able to raise an army of 15,000 well equipped men, with which he marched from the Godavery towards Poona. Here he found the people by no means unanimous in their support of Tara Bhai, and many came forward and recognized him as the legitimate

* It is not quite certain whether this step had not already been resolved upon or even taken by Azim Shah before he marched to encounter Bahadur at Agra. Looking at the dates, however, I am inclined to think the text is correct.

descendant of the great Sivajee. Having obtained possession of Satara, Sahoo caused himself to be formally seated on the throne. Tara Bhai and Sahoo both sent representatives to the Imperial Court, asking for the Emperor's countenance and support. Sahoo was backed up by Zulficcar Kkan, but Tara Bhai, on the other hand, found an advocate in Monuaim Khan, the Vizier, and the result was that though letters were made out in the latter's name as regent for her son Sivajee, they were not delivered but kept in abeyance until the dispute between the two rivals should be fought out.

The result of this struggle belongs more to the history of the Mahrattas, and as this has been already exhaustively treated, it is not our intention to go over the same ground here. Suffice it to say that Sahoo remained at Satara whilst the rival court was held at Kolapur. The former received the moral and active support of the Mahomedan governor of the Deccan, and the latter was followed by many of the principal Mahratta chiefs. The practical result of this rivalry was the growth of the Brahmin influence in Poona, which finally resulted in the representatives of royalty being reduced to the position of puppets, whilst the Brahmin Peishwas, arrogating to themselves all the actual power and influence, ruled the Mahratta people and directed the course of its armies.

Before passing on to the next period it will be as well to take a glance at the state of the Deccan after twenty years of warfare. The whole extent of country lying between Hyderabad, Bijapur, and Ahmednagar seems to have been reduced to the condition of a desert, not only by the ravages of contending armies but also by the progress of the vast imperial camp, numbering over a million of soldiers and followers, which like a swarm of locusts ate up the country as it moved slowly from place to place. The Mahomedan governors found the greatest difficulty in collecting the revenue, and were compelled to treat the jaghirdars and zemindars

with the utmost severity, and they in their turn exacted from the cultivator whatever they could. Villages were depopulated and fields left uncultivated, and whenever the Mahomedan army had removed to some distance there appeared in its track a marauding body of Mahratta horse, which if not satisfied by the blackmail of *chouth*, harried what little the Mahomedans had left. A more deplorable state of things cannot be imagined. Aurungzebe was compelled to draw not only his treasure but even his supplies from the north, and these caravans were constantly being plundered by the Mahratta cavalry. More than fifty years before, Mir Jumla, the able Minister who forsook the Golconda king for Shah Jehan's service, had, it is said, endeavoured to persuade the latter Emperor to leave the north of India and fix his capital in the Deccan which was the site where gold and diamonds could be found, and where a more splendid kingdom could be maintained than in the north. It was on this occasion that Mir Jumla gave to the Emperor the Kohinoor as a specimen of the wonderful diamonds which the country produced. Had Mir Jumla been able to visit the Deccan in the beginning of the 18th century he would have marvelled at the change that had taken place. On all sides were villages ruined, fields neglected, and irrigation works destroyed. The people from harmless peasants had turned into organized gangs of robbers, who endeavoured to recover their own losses by despoiling others. Tavernier, Thevenot, and the other European travellers of the 17th century speak of Hyderabad as the emporium of Indian trade, and of Bijapur as one of the richest and most populous cities in the world. At the time we are writing of, all trade had ceased, for no caravan was safe, and a merchant travelling with goods or money would not have gone twenty miles without being robbed and probably murdered.

Bahadur Shah's reign was only a short one, for he died in

1711 while on an expedition against the Sikhs. At the time of his death his four sons were with him in his camp, and again there occurred the fratricidal struggle for the throne which had taken place at the close of the two former reigns. The actual scene was in the Punjaub, but as the results materially affected the Deccan, we propose to describe it with some detail, especially as the circumstances are passed over by the usual histories with a few words, although they afford a graphic sketch of how the passion for empire destroyed all natural ties and feelings in the members of the royal family, and of how the empire was tottering on the verge of ruin by being split up into contending parties and factions.

Bahadur Shah died near Lahore in his seventieth year. (18th Feb. 1711.) His four sons were Jehander Shah the eldest, Jehan Shah, Raffiu-sh-Shah and Azimu-sh-Shah. All four resolved to try for the throne, and the youngest, Azimu-sh-Shah, had apparently the best chance of succeeding. Each of the Princes had his own camp and following, but Azimu-sh-Shah was in possession of his father's camp and treasure, and had therefore the proverbial nine points of the law in his favour. He at once caused himself to be proclaimed, upon which the other three brothers combined and agreed to sink their own rivalry in order to crush the pretensions of the youngest. The young Prince commenced badly by offending the powerful Zulficcar Khan. This general, who had for so long been accustomed to a prominent place in the affairs of the Empire, and who with some justice regarded himself as a maker of Emperors, sent a message to Azimu-sh-Shah asking how he could be of service him. The answer to this overture was couched in so supercilious a tone that Zulficcar Khan withdrew in disgust and embraced the cause of the eldest brother Jehander Shah. *

* Eradat Khan thus relates the incident which is of interest, as throwing some light upon the rules of oriental etiquette, any breach of

Instead of at once attacking his brothers, Azimu-sh-Shah made another mistake in entrenching himself in his camp. He may perhaps have thought that if he waited his time, and kept hold of the treasure, his brothers would gradually be deserted by their followers, so that they would eventually have to submit. The reverse, however, actually happened. Zulficcar Khan threw himself into the cause of the three Princes, and with his usual energy drew all the artillery from the city of Lahore, beneath the walls of which they were encamped. The truth of the proverb, *l'audace, l'audace et toujours l'audace*, especially as regards oriental warfare, was illustrated on this occasion. Azimu-sh-Shah's hesitancy was attributed to fear, and instead of his brothers being deserted by their followers, fresh levies were attracted, and many even deserted from Azimu-sh-Shah, who unwisely at such a time showed no disposition to spend any of his treasure. By shutting himself up in entrenchments Azimu-sh-Shah gave Zulficcar Khan an opportunity which this veteran soldier was not likely to let slip. Though his inferior numbers prevented him from meeting Azimu-sh-Shah in the field he was much stronger in artillery, and accordingly commenced an active cannonade from which the Prince's army, shut up in the entrenchments, suffered

which is calculated to cause bitter offence: "The Ameer-ul-Amra now desired me to send my grandson to Azimu-sh-Shah to ask him how he could serve him on the present occasion. I sent him but he returned with a reply, laconic and slight, as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of a hundred. 'As the Imperial servants can know no place of support but this court, and most have already repaired to it, the Ameer-ul-Amra may also pay his duty, with assurance of a gracious reception in the Presence.' When the Ameer-ul-Amra read this, he shed tears, and said to me with some emotion: 'You see the manners of the Prince and his advisers! Whatever is the will of God must taken place. Alas! the errors of a favourite, unacquainted with government often endanger the very existence of his master. When fortune frowns on any one, he is sure to do that which he should not.' After saying this he left and went to Prince Moiz-ud-Din (Jehander Shah)."

severely. After allowing himself to be fired at for five days, a proceeding which served to dispirit his army still more, the misguided Prince issued forth to attack the combined Princes. At the first meeting with Jehan Shah his followers fled. Azimu-sh-Shah and his son Mahomed Kurreem were left almost alone, and the Prince, disdaining to fly, was shot as he was fighting from the back of his elephant.* His son managed to mount a horse and escape, but he was captured a few days afterwards and cruelly put do death. There remained therefore the three Princes, Jehander, Jehan, and Raffiu-sh-Shah. According to their compact the treasure was to be divided equally between them; and Jehan Shah, who appears to have been a loyal and generous prince, at once placed a guard over the treasure, prevented his followers from pillaging the camp, and sent the whole of the ready cash to Zulficcar Khan for division. This was what this wily old intriguer wanted. He had determined to support Jehander Shah, who was a foolish and dissipated man, as being the one over whom he was likely to exercise the greatest influence. With this object in view he delayed a division of the treasure, since he knew that the troops of Jehan and Raffiu-sh-Shah were clamouring for pay and were therefore likely to create trouble. He played with each Prince in turn, visiting first one and then the other, promising with fair words, but always putting off a settlement. Jehan Shah was advised by his friends to seize the traitor at his next visit and put him to death, but this he refused to do, and when he came contented himself with reproaching him for his duplicity, adding: "Even now, perhaps, thy family is dreading that I may put thee to death, which, however politic, I scorn to do

* This is Eradat Khan's story, and, as he was an eyewitness of the battle, it is probably true. Khafi Khan, on the other hand, says that Azimu-sh-Shah 'disappeared', and was supposed either to have been drowned or assassinated.

by fraud. Rise, then, and go in peace to thine own house." We are told that "the Ameer-ul-Amra departed with a speed and precipitation which declared his guilt." This magnanimity was however thrown away, and Zulficcar Khan openly put aside all disguise and announced his intention of ruining Jehan Shah. Raffiu-sh-Shah in the meantime remained quiet. He had on former occasions greatly befriended Zulficcar Khan, and thought him bound to him by ties of gratitude. He therefore counted on his support, and leaving his two elder brothers to settle their own quarrel, reserved himself to fight the conqueror. Jehan Shah, seeing that nothing was to be gained by delay, resolved to attack Zulficcar Khan, but the night before he could carry out his intention a fire broke out in his camp which destroyed the whole of his ammunition. Some fresh supplies were obtained, but they were utterly insufficient, and many of his followers began to desert. Jehan now determined to stake all on a sudden attack. He made a furious onslaught on Jehander's camp, and nearly surprised his brother in his tent. Zulficcar Khan, however, was ready with his whole force drawn up. Jehan Shah was surrounded, his followers fled, and he was struck by a musket ball. His son, Ferkhander Akhter, who fought by his side, descended from the elephant and defended his father with his sword, until he also fell covered with wounds. During this skirmish Raffiu-sh-Shah had drawn off his forces, and remained a passive spectator. When it was over he advanced with the intention of engaging Jehander Shah, firmly believing that Zulficcar Khan would come over to his side. He was, however, advised to wait until the following day, when if he attempted a surprise there was a better chance of success. This he did, and early in the morning an attack was made on Jehander's camp. But owing to the treachery or rashness of the attacking force a premature cannon shot gave the alarm, and they found a strong force

drawn up and commanded by their supposed ally Zulficcar Khan. The unhappy prince thus disappointed and betrayed resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible. As usual he was forsaken by his soldiers, but descending from his elephant he "drew the sabre of glory from the scabbard of honour and fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants." He, too, soon fell covered with wounds, and Jehander Shah left without a rival, was proclaimed Emperor and sounded the march of victory.

Dreadful as were these fratricidal quarrels it is impossible to deny to the sons and grandsons of Aurungzebe the one virtue of courage. The word "fear" seems to have been unknown to them, and they were always ready to expose their persons without scruple. They fought with the courage of despair, and though they were void of the ordinary natural feelings of family affection, ambitious, false, and revengeful, they were undoubtedly brave. This was apparently their one virtue,

Zulficcar Khan had been the moving spirit in this intrigue, and he was the principal person to profit by it. Jehander Shah was a man of weak mind and of low and dissipated tastes. He cared nothing for the duties of government, and left the whole power in the hands of his minister. During his short reign of nine months the Emperor set all public opinion at defiance. He went about publicly with a common courtesan as his companion, and not content with holding drunken orgies in the palace, he went with her to the bazaar and frequented the lowest houses. On one occasion he went with his mistress and a herb-woman named Zohera to the house of a common prostitute where they remained drinking until late in the night. "After rewarding the woman with a large sum and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and

"linked to a thousand crimes."

all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival Lall Koor (the mistress) was taken out by her women, but the Emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the conveyance, drove it to the stables. The officers of the palace after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the Emperor were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them to immediately examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at a distance of nearly two miles from the palace. After this he still more exposed his vices to the public; often he passed through the streets, seizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradesmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar superstition, he bathed with Lall Koor concealed only by a single cloth in the fountain of the Lamp of Delhi (a celebrated saint) in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy." * On another occasion the same woman Zohera met Chin Kulich Khan who was living in Delhi in strict retirement, in the streets. Finding that the Khan's palankeen did not get out of the way soon enough, Zohera's attendants began to insult him, and she herself called out to him from the top of her elephant, "Are you the son of a blind man?" This wanton insult led to an affray in which Zohera got roughly treated by the Khan's followers. Zohera complained to her mistress and she in turn to the Emperor, who ordered Zulficcar Khan to punish the nobleman. This however he did not dare to do, and Chin Kulich Khan, disgusted at the profligacy of the Court, kept himself in even stricter retirement awaiting the opportunity which was not far off. Zulficcar Khan was at this time not only Minister but also Viceroy of the Deccan and made use of his position to enrich himself and his near

* Eradat Khan, *Memoirs of the Mogul Empire*, Scott's Translation.

relatives. On all sides there was nothing but injustice and oppression. "He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretences to put them to death, that he might plunder their possessions. Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he disposed of money to others with a hand so sparing that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed *jaghirs* to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near or distant, friends or strangers were turned against him, and wished his destruction. Hindoos and Mussulmans agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches a hundred years." *

In the meantime in the Deccan everything was playing into the hands of the Mahrattas. Having nothing to fear from a debauched Emperor they extended their conquest on every side. Where they could not actually annex territory they levied their black-mail of one quarter of the revenue, and the Mahomedan deputies, too weak to oppose their exactions, were content to purchase immunity by allowing them to collect their *chouth*. The actual administration of the Mahratta Empire was conducted by the Peishwa at Poona, and gradually the Rajah at Sattara became a mere puppet in his hands. The great feature of the Mahratta armies was their cavalry, for which they were in a considerable measure indebted to Aurungzebe. This Prince had during the last twenty years of his life devoted much attention to the improvement of the breed of horses in the Deccan. He imported a vast number of Arab sires from the north and distributed them amongst the villages. When he died, and the Imperial army left the Deccan, these horses fell into the hands of the

* *Ibid.*

Mahrattas, who were not slow to use them for military purposes until the Deccanee mare or stallion became famous throughout India.*

Whilst everything at Delhi was in confusion, an avenger was rapidly preparing an army in the distant province of Bengal. Azimu-sh-Shah, the first of the four sons of the late Emperor who fell in the struggle at Lahore, had left a son named Ferokshere who was Governor of Eastern Bengal. His principal supporters were two brothers, descendants of the well-known Seyds of Barha, a race celebrated for its bravery. These two men, Seyd Abdullah and Hussein Ali, had already distinguished themselves in the engagement between Azim Shah and Bahadur Shah after the death of Aurungzebe. On this occasion they had fought on Azim Shah's side, and when Bahadur Shah proved victorious they withdrew to Bengal. Here they attached themselves to the service of the young prince Ferokshere, and received, the one the Government of Allahabad, and the other that of Behar. When Ferokshere commenced his march on Delhi he was at once joined by Seyd Hussein Ali with a large force from Behar. It was hoped at Delhi that the other brother at Allahabad would remain loyal, and flattering letters full of promises were sent to him, but in vain. Seyd Abdullah, disgusted at the profligacy

* There can be no doubt that the Deccan plains, with their vast stretches of waste land, are eminently suited for horse-breeding purpose. Of late years considerable attention has been bestowed on the revival of horse-breeding in the Nizam's Dominions, and annually from 1,200 to 1,500 young colts by thoroughbred Arabs out of country mares are brought to the great horse fair at Mallagaom in the Bieder district. In course of time the new Deccanee breed bids fair to rival if not surpass the historical Deccan cavalry of the last century. It is only, just in reference to this, to mention the name of Mr. Ali Abdoolla, the well-known sportsman, who for about ten years has been at the head of the Hyderabad Government Stud. The headquarters and principal breeding farm are at Singareddy, about 30 miles from Hyderabad.

of the Court and the despotism of Zulficcar Khan, only waited for the Prince's approach to hand over to him the fort and to join him with the whole of his force. This accession raised the number of Ferokshere's army to about 70,000 horse and foot, and without waiting for further additions he commenced the march from Allahabad on Delhi. Thirty miles to the east of Agra the Prince met the force which had been sent to oppose him. This was commanded by Aiz-ud-Din, a son of the Emperor, and consisted only of six thousand veteran troops, a fine park of artillery, and a large rabble of Jâts and Rajputs. A slight skirmish followed, which though unattended by any important result was sufficient to terrify the Imperial general, who, taking with him the heir-apparent, fled to Agra. Of the army he left behind a large number went over te Ferokshere and the remainder dispersed. Ferokshere remained encamped upon the field of battle, and instead of marching upon Agra in pursuit, awaited there the return of the Imperial army. The Emperor finding that Ferokshere did not advance, and attributing his delay to fear, left Delhi, and marched to Agra. Here he was joined by the rest of his army which now numbered "seventy thousand horse, and foot without number." The two armies were separated by the river Jumna, and for the space of a week their time was occupied in marching and countermarching on either bank, endeavouring to gain a ford. This the two Seyds first succceded in doing, and although the Emperor with an advance guard came up to them before the whole army had succeeded in crossing, he did not venture to attack them. Next day a general engagement took place, and the following is the description by Eradat Khan who was an eyewitness, and who was engaged on the Emperor's side. "After a cannonade of some time I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge ours, one with a red and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Rajah Jud-

boolla Ram and the latter of Seyd Hussein Ali Khan. Observing that our right flank was much exposed, I remarked it to Zulficcar Khan, who immediately ordered Abdul Summad Khan to move with the mistress's troops to that quarter. The first body of the troops charged, and the second pushing through the line of our artillery, which was deserted as it approached, attacked the centre in which was Jehander Shah. Our troops fell back upon the camp and great confusion took place." This charge practically decided the fate of the Emperor. Although Seyd Hussein Ali had fallen desperately wounded, the Imperial troops never attempted to rally. They did not even wait to be attacked, but broke their line and scattered in every direction, leaving the women, the jewel office, and the treasury to shift for themselves. Zulficcar Khan with a few veterans still held out, hoping that the presence of the Emperor might have the effect of rallying the troops. This probably would have been the case even at this late hour, for the enemy, finding that Seyd Hussein Ali had been carried off wounded, had halted in hesitation. A bold charge might then have saved the day, but Jehander Shah was not made of the same stuff as the rest of his family, and had not the courage to risk his person to save his throne. He had already mounted a fast elephant and was on his way to Delhi. Zulficcar Khan held out till dark, and then, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, followed his master and reached Delhi shortly after him.

The Governor at Delhi was Assud-ud-Dowlah, father of Zulficcar Khan, and to him the Emperor appealed for protection. Jehander Shah's personal vices, however, had long since forfeited the loyalty and affection which were his due. His army was defeated and scattered, and his nobles were therefore no longer in fear of his power. Assud-ud-Dowlah at once placed him in confinement, and, anxious only to save himself and, if possible, his son, sent word to Ferokshere

that he held the ex-Emperor at his disposal. In the meantime Ferokshere had caused himself to be publicly proclaimed, and was joined by many of the chief generals of his defeated rival. Amongst these was Chin Kulich Khan, who, as we have already seen, had just cause for resentment against Jehander Shah; and who, there can be no doubt, had entered into a private arrangement with the Seyds to hold aloof. He was welcomed by Ferokshere, and was rewarded with a *munsab* of 7,000 horse and the appointment of Subadar of the Deccan with the title of Asaf Jah, NIZAM-UL-MULK, by which name he will be designated in future. Naturally the principal rewards fell to the share of the two Seyds, to whom Ferokshere's victory was entirely due. The elder brother Seyd Abdullah was appointed Vizier, with the title of Kutb-ul-Mulk, and a *munsab* of 7,000, whilst the younger, Hussein Ali, was created Ameer-ul-Amra, with a similar *munsab*.

Ferokshere received the message of Assud-ud-Dowlah with an appearance of satisfaction, and returned a gracious reply, telling him that his services would be rewarded by a confirmation in his office of Vizier and Governor of Delhi, and ordering him to keep Jehander Shah in close confinement. This message raised the spirits of Assud-ud-Dowlah and of his son Zulficcar Khan, and instead of attempting to seek safety by flight they remained in Delhi, kept everything quiet, and awaited the arrival of Ferrokshere.

When the new Emperor had arrived within a few marches of Delhi he sent word to Assud-ud-Dowlah to join him in his camp, and bring with him Zulficcar Khan. This order was at once obeyed with a feeling of mingled hope and fear. The father, who was advanced in years, was graciously received, and presented with jewels and robes, and the Emperor then told him to return home and leave behind him his son Zulficcar Khan, as the Emperor wished to transact some

business with him. The father, says Khafi Khan, saw that his son was doomed, and with a swelling heart and tearful eyes he repaired to his tent. Eradat Khan gives a more detailed account of the tragedy that followed. Zulficcar Khan was first of all kept waiting in one of the apartments of the Imperial tent. A dinner was then brought to him, but it being against the court etiquette for a subject to eat in the Emperor's tent, he was asked to adjourn to a square of screens. Arrived here the door was at once shut upon him, and after he had been kept for some time in suspense, Abdullah Khan, the superintendent of the household, of whom we shall hear more hereafter under the name of Mir Jumla, came to him with a question he was desired to answer. He was asked to explain why at the siege of Gingee he had put the Emperor's uncle Kaum Buksh into confinement. The reply was: "I confined the prince by order of Aurungzebe, his sovereign and mine. Had he commanded me to imprison my own father, I should have at once complied." He was then asked why in the battle between Azim Shah and Bahadar Shah he had deserted the former and sought safety in flight. The reply was: "While Azim Shah was alive I kept the field, but when he was dead I dared not oppose a prince of the blood without a rival of equal dignity at the head of our army." The next question was: "What were the circumstances of your conduct to the martyred prince, His Majesty's father, Azimu-sh-Shah?" Zulficcar Khan replied: "He behaved inattentively to me, and I then attached myself to his brother; but in this did no more than other nobles, who each embraced the cause of the prince he loved best, and from whom he received the greatest favours." Then followed the last question, which, however, was unanswerable, "Why was his majesty's brother inhumanly murdered in cold blood, many days after the battle, when other princes were allowed to live?" The fallen general now saw that no submission or

entreaty would spare his life, and so he angrily exclaimed, "If I am to die, kill me instantly, nor vex me longer with vain interrogation." Thereupon Lachin Beg, a person who earned an unenviable notoriety in reference to executions, and other followers rushed in and strangled Zulficcar Khan with a bowstring, afterwards plunging their daggers into his body. The body was drawn outside the camp with ropes, and allowed to lie as an example of fallen greatness. His estates, and those of his father, were confiscated, but his father was allowed to go into retirement, where soon afterwards he died, not without suspicion of poison.

At the same time an order was sent to despatch the ex-Emperor Jehander Shah, and as Ferokshere made his triumphal entry into Delhi, the head of his uncle was carried round the city on a spear whilst the body was placed on an elephant, from which also was hung the corpse of Zulficcar Khan, head downwards. Some days were then occupied with other executions, and for some time there was in Delhi a reign of terror. Lachin Beg, who was a prominent performer in these murders, received the nickname of *Pasma Kash* (thong-puller). Khafi Khan says: "As men were subjected to this punishment of the bow-string without ascertainment or proof of offence, such a terror of it seized the hearts of the nobles of the reign of Aurungzebe and Bahadur Shah that when anyone left his home to attend upon the Emperor, he took farewell of his sons and family . . . Hakim Salim had been one of the personal attendant upon Azimu-sh-Shah, and it was said that the Prince was killed at his suggestion. Mir Jumla invited the Hakim to his house, and treated him sumptuously at night, but before morning men were sent to his door and they strangled him." This Mir Jumla was a great favourite of the new Emperor, Ferokshere, and he appears to have been the Emperor's confidential agent in contradistinction to the two Seyds, to whom the affairs

23

of the State were entrusted. As might be expected, before long this dual power led to considerable friction, and the constant endeavour of the Seyds was to remove Mir Jumla from his post near the Emperor's ear. Kulich Khan, or rather Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, with the caution which characterized all his actions, withdrew from this scene of bloodshed and intrigue, and, making Aurungabad his head-quarters, did his best to bring the Deccan into order and repose.

The Emperor Ferokshere was a man of low mind and manners, but was at the same time extravagant in his profusion and display, and so succeeded in gaining a certain popularity amongst the vulgar. He was imbued with a strong jealousy of the two Seyds, which however he dared not openly show because of their power and of the obligations he was under to them for their assistance in raising him to the throne. This jealousy was secretly fostered by Mir Jumla, who, having quickly squandered the accumulated wealth of Zulficcar Khan, was meditating the downfall of the Seyds. Seyd Abdullah, to whom were entrusted the duties of Vizier, was much addicted to the pleasures of the zenana, and left most of his business to his dewan, named Ruttun Chund, who took advantage of the trust confided in him to levy exactions from all who were brought into contact with him. The more active and talented of the two brothers was Seyd Hussein Ali, who was Amir-ul-Amra, or Commander-in-Chief. With the object of separating Hussein Ali from his brother, Mir Jumla persuaded the Emperor to despatch him against Ajeet Singh, Rajah of Marwar, who had been in a state of rebellion since the death of Aurungzebe. Ajeet Singh submitted very quickly, and, agreeing to give a daughter to the Emperor in marriage, received more lenient terms than he was entitled to, for Hussein Ali was anxious to return to Delhi, where the hostility between his brother the Vizier and Mir Jumla had broken

into open flame. The cause of this rupture was the monopoly of the patronage and power in the hands of the Vizier and his brother. Mir Jumla, in order to share in the perquisites attached to the patronage, insisted that all orders and petitions should receive his counter-signature as confidential minister of the Emperor. As Vizier Seyd Abdullah claimed to be the official representative, and Ruttun Chund, his deputy, openly defied the pretensions of the palace favourite. The latter, however, had the ear of the Emperor, and it had been resolved to effect the Vizier's arrest when suddenly his brother appeared on the scene. It is said that the Emperor's mother, who had guaranteed the arrangement between the Emperor and the two Seyds, when the revolt against the late Emperor was resolved upon, betrayed to them the conspiracy that was being hatched and caused Hussein Ali to be warned that he should return quickly if he wished to save the influence of his brother. This unexpected return disconcerted the conspirators, and a fresh combination was brought about. It was proposed to elevate Hussein Ali to the Viceroyalty of the Deccan and to remove Asaf Jah to Malwa. Hussein Ali did not object to this as long as he was allowed to govern by a deputy whilst he remained at Delhi, where his influence at the head of the army was sufficient to counteract Mir Jumla's intrigues. This, however, was exactly what the Emperor wished to avoid, and matters were nearly coming to an outbreak when the Emperor's mother interfered. She visited the two Seyds and persuaded them to come to the Emperor's presence, agreeing, as a guarantee of good faith, that during the audience their troops should garrison the palace. Accordingly the two brothers went, and having made a nominal submission a compromise was effected, under which Mir Jumla was sent to the governorship of Behar and Hussein Ali agreed to go to his post in the Deccan. Such, however, was the power of the haughty soldier that before leaving the Emperor's presence he openly

said that if Mir Jumla were recalled, or if anything should be attempted against his brother Seyd Abdullah, he would within twenty days return to Delhi at the head of his army. These matters having been satisfactorily arranged, the Emperor celebrated his marriage with Ajeet Singh's daughter with considerable pomp.*

Mir Jumla actually went to Behar, but the intrigues in his favour still continued at Delhi, and a message was sent by the Emperor to Daoud Khan, the former Deputy of Zulficcar Khan in the Deccan, to oppose Hussein Ali on his march. Daoud Khan was a brave man and from his long connection with this part of the country had considerable influence with the Mahrattas. He therefore accepted the dangerous mission, and calling in Neemajee Scindia, marched from Aurungabad to meet the new Viceroy. It is worthy of remark that during this struggle Asaf Jah had quietly accepted his removal. His time had not yet come, and without attempting to oppose Hussein Ali, he withdrew to Moradabad and left his successor to fight out his quarrel with Daoud Khan. The latter was easily beaten, and being killed during the engagement, his followers at once dispersed. Daoud Khan's body was dragged round Burhanpore at the tail of an elephant, and a despatch was sent to the Emperor apprising him of the death of a rebel. Ferokshere is said to have remarked that Daoud Khan had been unjustly killed, whereupon the Vizier boldly replied that had the same fate happened to his brother Hussein Ali, His Majesty would possibly have been of a different opinion.

*At this time the Emperor had just recovered from a severe illness during which he had been treated by an English physician, Mr. Hamilton. When the grateful Emperor wished to reward Mr. Hamilton, the latter refused to accept any fees, and the only recompense he asked for was a charter for the East India Company allowing them free trade at Calcutta. This was at once granted, and the fees of office were remitted.

For some months there existed a state of armed neutrality between the Emperor and his two powerful nobles. Mir Jumla was no longer at headquarters to take any active part in intrigues, and the two Seyds were on their guard against any overt act. But the Emperor chafed daily at his state of dependence and resolved as soon as he could to remove the two men who overshadowed his throne. It is said (Khafi Khan) that the Emperor's own mother, who, as already stated had been a party to the agreement between the Seyds and her son, before he struck a blow for the throne, and who had stood security for her son's good faith, kept them informed of any plots against their well-being. This may be true but the real reason of the Emperor's state of feebleness lay in the disorganization of the Empire. He had no friends to whom he could turn for help. It was evident that a great Empire was crumbling to pieces, and that every one was scrambling to secure something for himself. The skies were falling and there was a chance of catching larks. An example of the general feeling of unrest and of the weakness of the Government is to be found in certain riots which occurred in Ahmedabad in the third year of Ferokshere's reign. The origin of the riots was the same as that which brought about the riots in Bombay and elsewhere during the last eighteen months, namely, the cow question. It is remarkable that this is the first instance, on record of the Hindoos having taken up arms in this matter since the commencement of the Mahomedan rule. The striking difference between the riots of 1713 and those of 1893 lies in the manner in which the rioters were treated. Religious disturbances are always likely to occur between rival creeds in a country like India, but the ease or difficulty with which they are suppressed is the test of the strength or weakness of the Government. The riot originated in a Hindoo on the night of the *Holi* feast attempting to burn the *Holi* on a vacant piece of ground in

front of his house common to himself and a Mahomedan neighbour. The neighbour prevented him, and the Hindoo appealed to the Mahomedan Governor, who decided that he had a right to do as he liked in his own house, and accordingly the *Holi* was burnt. Next day the neighbour brought a cow to the same piece of ground and slaughtered it there, putting forward as an excuse that he also had a right to do as he liked on his own ground. The Hindoos at once rose *en masse* and attacked the Mahomedans, who had to take refuge in their houses. Flushed with their success the Hindoos seized the son of a cow-butcher, a lad of 14 or 15, dragged the boy off, and slaughtered him. This act of revenge drew all the Mahomedans from their quarters, and to their assistance came a number of Afghans in the Governor's employ, who were always ready for a fight. The Mahomedans commenced to fire the Hindoos' quarters, but met with a check at the house of a rich Hindoo jeweller, which they found barricaded and defended by a number of match-lock men. A regular pitched battle ensued, and numbers were killed on both sides. For three or four days all business and work was suspended, and the citizens were occupied in fighting with each other. At last both parties appealed to Delhi, and petitions were sent to the Emperor. But similar riots were going on at Delhi, and nothing seems to have been done. Matters gradually settled down in Ahmedabad, but no steps appear to have been taken to punish the rioters.

Another example of the brutality and lawlessness of the time is to be found in the treatment of the Sikhs in the same year (1714). This strange sect had always been an object of peculiar abhorrence to the Mahomedans. Goaded by persecution they frequently retaliated in kind. They erected a strong fortification at Gurdaspur in the Panjab, about ten or twelve days journey from Delhi, and an expedition was sent to reduce it. The Sikhs, a strong and warlike race, as we have

since discovered, fought with the utmost bravery. On several occasions they almost succeeded in overpowering the Imperial forces, but at last they had to yield to superior numbers and suffered a crushing defeat, after which they shut themselves up in the fort. A long siege followed, in which, owing to the determined bravery of the defenders, no advantage could be gained, and it was only when their supplies were cut off that they could be reduced to sue for terms. The only condition they asked for was that their lives should be spared. This would seem to have been promised, for the Mahomedan historian (Khafi Khan) who relates the incident says: "Diler Jung *at first* refused to grant quarter, but *at length* he advised them to beg pardon of their crimes and offences from the Emperor. Their chief *Guru* with his son of seven or eight years old, his *diwan*, and three or four thousand persons, became prisoners and received the predestined recompense for their deeds." There followed a massacre which is probably unsurpassed in history for the brutality of its details. Khafi Khan goes on to say: "Three or four thousand of them were put to the sword, and the extensive plain was filled with blood as if it had been a dish. Their heads were stuffed with hay and stuck upon spears. Those who escaped the sword were sent in collars and chains to the Emperor." Two thousand stuffed heads and one thousand prisoners were sent to Delhi, and among them the Guru and his son. They were all paraded before the Emperor, who ordered them to be killed in batches of several hundreds each day, reserving the Guru and his son for the last. When all had been slain the Guru was made to cut off his own son's head, and was then himself slaughtered as a finale.

In the meantime matters were becoming very critical in the Deccan. After the defeat of Daoud Khan by Seyd Hussein Ali, the Emperor secretly instigated the Mahrattas to oppose

his Viceroy in the hope of crushing his power through them. One Khunde Row had established a chain of posts along the commercial road from Surat to Burhanpur and black-mailed or robbed all the caravans that passed. Trade was almost paralysed, and two expeditions sent by Hussein Ali against this freebooter were surprised and defeated. Rajah Sahoo at Sattara, secretly encouraged by the Emperor, was also putting forward pretensions to the levy of *chouth* throughout the Mogul possessions in the Deccan. At Delhi affairs seemed to be coming to a crisis. Mir Jumla suddenly returned to Court without leave, and though apparently received with disfavour, he remained in Delhi and was supposed to be intriguing against the Seyds. Seyd Abdullah kept his brother in the Deccan fully informed of how things were going on, and urged him to come in person and by his presence put matters right. Hussein Ali saw that there was no time to be lost, and fearing to leave an unsettled country behind him determined to come to terms with the Mahrattas. A treaty was accordingly drawn up between him and Rajah Sahoo, in which the claim of the latter to *chouth* was recognized. The Rajah on his side made himself responsible for the peace and security of the districts over which he levied this species of blackmail. He became, as it were, the head of the Deccan Police, and in case of robbery was bound to make good the value of the property stolen. He actually styled himself not the independent rival, but the servant and vassal of the Delhi Emperor. The annual amount of the chouth thus levied from the Provinces of Aurangabad, Berar, Bieder, Bijapur, Hyderabad, and Kandesh, was valued at no less than 18 crores of rupees, equal in those days to nearly £ 20,000,000.* In order to aid in the collection of the revenue and to keep the peace, the Mahratta Rajah engaged to keep up a force of 15,000 men, to be placed at the disposal of the

* Grand Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I. p. 383.

Mogul Governors. No doubt a treaty of this kind was humiliating in the highest degree, but it left Seyd Hussein Ali free to go to Delhi and settle matters for himself, and the Seyd's personal interests were to him a matter of greater importance than those of the Empire. Besides, not only did it leave him with free hands, but it also gave him two important allies in the shape of his recent enemy, Khunde Row, and Ballajee Wishwanath, who joined him with a considerable force. As might be expected, the Emperor Ferokshere refused to ratify a treaty which so completely thwarted his intentions, but this was a matter of small importance to the Seyd who now felt himself strong enough to openly set the Emperor at defiance. Accordingly (1718) he commenced his march, towards Delhi, resolved if he could not bend the Emperor to his will to depose him and put a more pliant instrument in his place.

In Delhi everything was ripe for a revolution. Ferokshere had disgusted every one by his vacillation, his tyranny, and his unworthy favourites. The last was a Kashmiri of low birth, named Mahomed Murad, who had been rapidly promoted to the highest rank. Several of the old nobility, and amongst others Nizam-ul-Mulk were recalled from their posts, and though received with apparent favour were not granted other appointments. The Emperor openly spoke of removing Seyd Abdullah from the post of Vizier and of appointing Mahomed Murad—who was now called Itakad Khan—in his place. Accordingly the old nobility formed a secret combination, and rather than submit to the authority of a low upstart, agreed to support the two Seyds.

When Ferokshere heard of Hussein Ali's march from the Deccan he became alarmed, and a peace was made between him and Seyd Abdullah. The Emperor visited the latter in his house and protested with oaths that he would do him no harm. It was, however, felt on both sides that this reconciliation was a hollow one, and Abdullah's private letters to his

brother urged him to hasten his march as much as possible.

Early in 1719 (end of Rabi-ul-Awal A.H. 1131) Hussein Ali arrived near Delhi, and, as if in defiance, caused his drums to be beaten within earshot of the Emperor's palace. Ferokshere at this crisis showed his usual hesitation. At one time he would be transported with rage and vow to be revenged on the two brothers, while at another he would pretend that he was anxious for a reconciliation. The few friends who remained by him saw that the end was coming, and began to desert him. One of the last to do so was the Rajput prince Jey Singh. He left when the Emperor granted the demand of Seyd Abdullah that he and his brother should be placed in supreme power over all affairs of state and that various posts in the palace and in the Government should be filled by their adherents. Two days after Jey Singh's departure the two brothers entered the citadel, the Emperor's guards were removed and their own men were placed in charge. "Of all the great men near the Emperor, none were left near him, or near the gates of the fortress except Imtiyaz Khan, registrar of the Privy Council, whose absence or presence made no difference, Zafar Khan, who for his complaisance and time serving was called 'the pea in every soup', and some helpless attendants and eunuchs." (Khafi Khan). At the first audience of the two Seyds with their royal master only a few words passed, but at a second on the following day the brothers openly upbraided him for his intrigues and treachery and denounced the ingratitude with which they had been treated in return for placing him on the throne.

Whilst this discussion was going on in the palace the city was in a state of excitement. For the first time the Mahomedan capital of the Empire was in the hands of infidels, for a large force of Mahrattas was used to garrison it. This unusual sight seems to have excited the rage of some Mahomedan horsemen, fifteen or twenty of whom attacked a band of Mahrattas and

put them to flight. A panic followed in which most of the Mahrattas attempted to leave the city, but the people rose and a massacre ensued in which some fifteen hundred Mahrattas, including Santa, a chief of note, were killed. When this riot was at its height the drums were beaten and a declaration was made that Ferokshere had abdicated and was succeeded by Rafi-ud-Darajat, grandson of Bahadur Shah. This diverted the attention of the rioters, who now attempted to enter the palace and rescue the Emperor, for though Ferokshere had disgusted the nobility he was still popular with the masses. Here, however, they were met by the Seyds' garrison and repulsed. Inside the palace everything was in confusion. Ferokshere had taken refuge in his zenana, but he was soon dragged out from amongst the shrieking women, taken to a small chamber in the top of the fort, and there blinded. "In this corner of sorrow and grief they left him with nothing but a ewer, a vessel for the necessities of nature, and a glass to drink out of." * (18 February 1719)

* Khafi Khan.

TABLE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF AURUNGZEBE.

- 1. Aurungzebe, 1658—1707
  - Mahomed Sultan. Died in Prison. No issue.
  - 2. *Bahadur Shah*, 1707—1711
    - 3. *Jehander Shah*, 1711—1712. Murdered by Ferokshere.
    - Jehan Shah. Killed in battle, Lahore, 1711.
      - 7. *Mahomed Shah*, 1719—1748
        - 8. *Ahmed Shah*, 1748—1754
          - 9. *Shah Alum*, 1756—1806
            - 10. *Akbar II*, 1806—1837
            - 11. *Mahomed Bahadur*, 1837—1857
    - Raffiu-sh-Shah. Killed in battle, Lahore, 1711.
      - 6. *Raffi-ud Daula*, 1719. Died after three months' reign.
      - 5. *Raffi-ud Darajat*, 1719. Died after six months' reign.
      - Mahomed Ibrahim
    - Azimu-sh-Shah. Killed in battle, Lahore, 1711
      - 4. *Ferokshere*, 1712—1719. Murdered. No issue.
  - Azim. Killed in battle, 1707.
  - Kaum Buksh. Killed near Hyderabad, 1708.
  - Akbar. Fled.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE END OF THE KING-MAKERS AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW KINGDOM.

THE new Emperor Darajat was a young man of less than twenty years. He was placed with such haste on the throne that there was not even time to change his clothes, all that could be done being to throw round his neck a string of pearls. He appears to have been weak both in body and mind, and was a mere puppet in the hands of the Seyds, who not only garrisoned the fort and palace with their own soldiers but placed their friends and dependants in every post of importance. With the object of getting rid of Nizam-ul-Mulk he was sent to Malwa, and again he went without a murmur. There followed him, however, a number of men who, discontented with their treatment by the Seyds, looked to Nizam-ul-Mulk as their patron. These men he attached to his service by payment and by kindness, and they formed the nucleus of a force which was destined to win him a kingdom.

In the meantime in Delhi the Seyds did exactly as they liked. They scrambled for the royal treasures, and the elder brother took a number of Ferokshere's ladies and transferred them to his own zenana. It is said that the two brothers quarrelled over the division of the plunder, and that for some time jealousy and hatred took the place of the union that had hitherto existed between them. As for the unhappy

Ferokshere, he lingered for two months in his miserable prison. The operation performed on his eyes had not been thoroughly done, and he gradually recovered their use, so that he was able to attempt an escape by letting himself out of a window. He was, however, discovered and dragged back. He then attempted to bribe his jailor to let him escape, and on this failing he broke into a passion and abused the two Seyds for their ingratitude towards him. This was reported and the order went forth that Ferokshere was to be killed. The executioners entered his cell with the bow-string. "When the thong was thrown upon his neck, he seized it with both hands, and struggled violently with hands and feet, but the executioners beat his hands with sticks and made him leave go his hold. There is a common report that daggers and knives were used in that desperate struggle, but from what the author has heard no such weapon was used." (Khafi Khan). The unfortunate Emperor was then 38 years of age, and from the time of his victory over Jehander Shah he had reigned six years, nine months, and twenty-four days. His tragic end was due in a great measure to his own fault and to the manner in which he worked against the Seyds whilst openly acknowledging them as his chief ministers. He had forfeited the confidence of all the nobles, but he was still regarded by the people with affection, and when his body was carried to the tomb of Humáyún, it was followed by a crowd of men and women, "chiefly the vagabonds and mendicants of the city, who had partaken of his bounty. They cried and groaned, tore their clothes, threw dust upon their heads, and scattered their abuse. The *bakshis* of Hussein Ali and Seyd Abdullah were ordered to attend the funeral, and they did so with several of the principal men of the city. Stones were cast at them. No one would take the bread or the copper coins which were offered in charity. On the third day some vagabonds and beggars met, cooked food, and distributed it among the poor and remained assembled all

night." (*Ibid.*) In the meantime the new Emperor was dying of consumption, and by the time he had reigned six months, he begged that he might be allowed to die in peace and that the throne might be bestowed upon his elder brother Raffiu-ud-Daula. This was done, and three days afterwards Daraját died. The new puppet Emperor was, like the last, weak in body and in intellect. He received the title of Shah Jehan the Second, but beyond the fact that coins were struck and the Khutba read in his name, he had nothing to do with the Government. He was surrounded by creatures of the elder Seyd and was not even allowed to leave the palace in order to go to mosque or hunting, or to speak to a courtier, except in the presence of one of the Seyds. His very clothes and food were chosen for him, and a guardian was appointed who looked after him as a nurse does after a child. In the meantime a revolution had broken out at Agra. One of Aurungzebe's grandsons named Neku Siyar, the son of Mahomed Akbar, had been confined in the fort, and him some of the soldiers of the garrison proclaimed Emperor and at the same time garrisoned the fort. Seyd Hussein Ali marched against the rebels with a considerable army, and after a short siege the fort capitulated. Neku Siyar was taken prisoner and sent back to confinement, and the vast treasures which for three or four hundred years had been accumulated at Agra fell into the hands of Hussein Ali. The jewels of Nur Jehan and Mumtaz Mahal alone were valued at between two and three crores. Most of this plunder the younger Seyd kept for himself. The elder got nothing until after about four months he received twenty-one lakhs of rupees. This settlement between the brothers was brought about by the intervention of Ruttun Chund, but the ill-feeling rankled in the minds of both. But before this reconciliation could take place the young Emperor Shah Jehan II. died after a short reign of three months and some days (Sept. 1719). The

cause of his death was dysentery and mental disorder. This unexpected death of their puppet completely disconcerted the plans of the Seyds. They did not know what to do. It was necessary to place a scion of the royal house on the throne, but it was also necessary that he should be of such a character that he would not interfere with their plans. At last they selected Prince Mahomed Roshan Akhtar a youth eighteen years of age, great-grandson of Aurungzebe and son of Jehan Shah, who had been living in retirement at Fathpúr, with his mother, a woman of much intelligence and tact. The death of the late Emperor was kept a secret for a week and not announced until the new one had been proclaimed, on Zilkada A. H. 1131 (end of Sept. 1719) under the title of Mahomed Shah Bádsháh.

The new Emperor was a man of some character, and he was fortunate in having an able counsellor in the person of his mother. This lady would do nothing to excite the jealousy of the two Seyds, and, acting under her advice, the young Emperor at first allowed his two powerful ministers to do as they liked. The Emperor's person, as before, was surrounded by creatures of the two ministers, and there gradually arose a general feeling of discontent throughout the country at their absolute power. This discontent was increased by the behaviour of Ruttun Chund, who, acting in the name of the elder Seyd, disgusted every one by his rapacity and injustice. Added to this there no longer existed the same bond of union between the two brothers, and their enemies began to gather courage and to watch for an opportunity of causing their downfall. Thrôughout all this web of intrigue the one personage who held aloof and won the respect of all was Nizam-ul-Mulk, who in his Government at Malwa was quietly strengthening his position by gathering round him a body of adherents devoted to his person, who, when the time should come, would be ready to fight for him to the death.

Seyd Hussein Ali was not slow to perceive the increasing popularity of his great rival, and resolved to bring matters to an issue. Accordingly he formulated against him a number of charges, and called upon him for an explanation. This Nizam-ul-Mulk furnished, and in so satisfactory a manner that Hussein Ali had no other recourse than to boldly throw off the mask. He informed him that as he wanted the province of Malwa for himself, in order the better to regulate the affairs of the Deccan, Nizam-ul-Mulk might select any one of the governments of Agra, Allahabad, Multan, or Burhanpur. This demand brought matters to a crisis. The young Emperor and his mother secretly looked to the Nizam as their liberator from the Seyds, and letters from Delhi warned him that there was no time to be lost, and that what he had to do he must do quickly. Accordingly Nizam-ul-Mulk resolved to openly break with the Seyds, and leaving Ujain, he first of all made three marches as if towards Agra, and then turned sharply round and marched southwards towards the Deccan. Town after town rapidly submitted, and at Burhanpur he captured the family of Hussein Ali's brother. These he refrained from molesting, and in a true spirit of chivalry despatched them unharmed with a strong escort to the capital. When the Seyds heard of the revolt of Nizam-ul-Mulk they at once determined to do all in their power to crush him. Orders were despatched to all the Governors of districts and forts to oppose him in every way, and Hussein Ali began to collect a large force in order to march against him in person. In the meantime Alam Ali Khan endeavoured to surprise Nizam-ul-Mulk between two forces. Whilst he marched on Burhanpur from Aurungabad with a strong force, a large army, principally composed of Mahrattas, advanced against it from the West. This army was commanded by Dilawar Ali Khan, a general of some repute. The Nizam, however, was not the man to allow himself to be caught in a trap like this.

He first of all marched against Dilawar Ali Khan and defeated him with considerable slaughter. The general and some five thousand men, chiefly Rajpoots, were left on the field, and the conqueror then turned back to meet Alam Ali Khan, detaching a small force to guard Burhanpur. Before engaging his opponent the Nizam sent him a conciliatory message, but this was rejected with scorn and a general engagement ensued. This was fought on the banks of the Purnah about twenty-five miles to the west of Burhanpur. Khafi Khan thus describes the battle: "On the 6th Sharwál, 1132 A. H. (1st August 1720 A. D.) the battle was fought. Alam Ali Khan received a severe wound, but for all that he kept the field. The elephant which carried him, unable to bear any longer the arrows and swords-cut that he received, turned tail. Alam Ali Khan, dripping with blood from his wounds, turned his face towards the army of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and cried out that his elephant had turned his back but he had not. All his arrows were exhausted, but such of the enemy's arrows as had struck his face or his body, or his *howda*, he quickly pulled out and returned. He received so many wounds in succession that he sank under them and sacrificed his life for his uncles (the Seyds). He was only twenty-two years of age, but he was distinguished by all the determination and the bravery of the Barha Seyds." (Elliot and Dawson, Vol. VII.) The leader being killed, his army scattered, and the whole of the camp fell into the hands of the Nizam, who was at once joined by several other chiefs of influence. It is worthy of remark how important a part bows and arrows play in all these engagements. There were muskets in use and artillery, but the bow seems to have been the favourite weapon of the leaders.

The news of this catastrophe warned the Seyds that no further time must be lost, and it was accordingly resolved that Seyd Abdullah should return to Delhi and keep things

quiet there, whilst Hussein Ali, accompanied by the Emperor, should march at once against Nizam-ul-Mulk. This was done and Hussein Ali set off with an army of about 50,000 men and the imperial camp. But scarcely had the two brothers been separated by a few days march when the conspiracy which had for some time been hatching broke out. This conspiracy had received the sanction of the Emperor's mother, although the Emperor himself was left in ignorance. Besides the Queen-mother only three men appear to have been in the plot, Mahomed Amin Khan, Saadat Khan, and an artillery officer named Haidar Khan. It was the last who was selected as the actual assassin. "On the 6th Zilhijja, in the second year of the reign, the royal army was encamped at Tora, thirty-five *koss* from Fattipur. Mahomed Amin Khan, having accompanied the Emperor to his tent, made a show of being unwell, and retired to the tent of Haidar Kuli Khan. When the Emperor entered his private apartment, Hussein Ali also retired. As he reached the gate of the royal inclosure, Mir Haidar Khan, who had a speaking acquaintance with him, approached. Washing his hands of life he placed a written statement in the hands of Hussein Ali and complained of Mahomed Amin as his victim read it." (*Ibid.*) While he was thus engaged Haidar Khan drew his dagger and plunged it into his side. The Ameer-ul-Amra struck the assassin a violent blow with his foot, at the same time crying out, "Put the Emperor to death!" The shock of his motion overset the palankeen, and he fell dead to the ground. A hundred swords were drawn in an instant, and the daring assassin was cut in pieces, but a band of Moguls who had been placed ready by Mahomed Amin Khan, now approaching, dispersed the attendants, and cutting off the head of the Ameer-ul-Amra carried it to the Emperor. (Scott's Translation). As soon as the news of this tragedy spread there was an uproar in the camp. One of the deceased's nephews, Izzat Khan, rushed

sword in hand to the Emperor's tent, resolved to avenge his uncle, but was cut down in the attempt. The Emperor was quickly mounted on an elephant and brought out by Mahomed Amin, and an attack was made on Hussein Ali's camp. Those of his dependants who resisted were cut to pieces, and the rest escaped, leaving the encampment to be first plundered and then set on fire. Such was the end of the great Seyd, the maker of four Emperors and for about eight years the virtual ruler of India. His career and his fate were not dissimilar to those of Zulficcar Khan, whose story has been related, and the history of both, like that of others who have attempted the same rôle in other countries, shows the inevitable fate of overweening ambition.

The news of the assassination of Seyd Hussein Ali spread with marvellous rapidity throughout India, and there was generally a feeling of relief. Nizam-ul-Mulk was one of the first to tender his services to the Emperor, but none the less he was not slow to seize the opportunity to strengthen his position in the Deccan and to render it secure. Seyd Abdullah in Delhi received the news with consternation and grief, and at once prepared to revenge his brother's death. His first act was to place another Prince on the throne in opposition to the Emperor, but this was a post of danger that none cared to accept. The two sons of Jehander Shah flatly refused to accept the throne, Neku Siyar, who had already once tasted for a few weeks the sweets and dangers of royalty, also declined the honour, and it was only after much persuasion that Sultan Ibrahim, youngest son of Raffiu-sh-Shah, at length allowed himself to be proclaimed. The singular device was resorted to of making him Emperor for a temporary purpose (*àriyát*=by way of loan). The next step was to gather together an army, and in this the Seyd showed unusual energy. He opened his treasure-house and distributed more than a crore of rupees amongst various noblemen and chiefs.

Horsemen were enlisted at the rate of eighty rupees each man, and lavish promises were made of promotion and prize-money. In this manner a considerable force was rapidly collected, but as was to be expected it consisted for the most part of raw recruits. Many of Hussein Ali's old soldiers, who at first had taken service under the Emperor, deserted when they heard that the brother of their old master had taken the field. These and a body of the brave Seyds of Barha formed the backbone of Seyd Abdullah's army. But little reliance could be placed on the rest. In spite of the large sums spent in recruiting, most of the horses were ridden bare-backed, and the foot-soldiers were badly equipped. About 70 miles from Delhi Seyd Abdullah was joined by a fresh force of Barha Seyds, who brought with them ten or twelve thousand horses. By degrees the army swelled to the number of from 90,000 to 100,000 horsemen. In the meantime the Emperor had advanced to meet his rebellious Vizier, with an army far inferior to his in numbers, but well equipped and disciplined. The two armies met near Husainpur, and on the 17th Muharram they were both drawn up in battle order. Before commencing the fight the Emperor ordered the head of Ruttun Chund, the Hindoo Dewan of the Seyds, to be struck off and thrown at the feet of his elephant. This man was execrated by everybody, and this act therefore was regarded as one of good omen. The royal army seems to have been the stronger in artillery, and a furious cannonade was opened which caused some of Seyd Abdullah's recruits to take to their heels. The Barha Seyds performed miracles of gallantry, and frequently charged the Imperial batteries with such impetuosity that at one time it seemed as if they would turn the tide of battle in their favour. But they were numerically too weak, and were at last beaten back, and in their turn lost their guns. Night fell and the Imperial army still continued the cannonade, causing numbers to

run away. On the following morning out of the 100,000 horsemen only seventeen or eighteen thousand remained in Seyd Abdullah's camp. When daylight broke, the Emperor, who had remained on his elephant for the greater part of the night, ordered a general advance. The Barha Seyds still fought with great gallantry and made several desperate charges. Seyd Abdullah placed himself at their head, and at one time the royal forces began to waver. But a fresh body of troops was brought up, the Seyds were surrounded, and at length beaten. Seyd Abdullah was taken prisoner, having been wounded in several places. A few others of the Seyds were also taken, but the greater number fell under the swords of the Imperialists, and the power of this clan was for ever broken. The unfortunate young Ibrahim, who had for a few days been on the throne, was found hiding in the jungle, but as he had had but little choice in what he had done, he received the royal pardon. Seyd Abdullah himself was kept in confinement, and was carried with the army, which now marched upon Delhi. Before it could arrive there the Seyd's relatives and family made their escape, taking with them as much of their property as they could collect. On the 22nd Muharram the Emperor entered Delhi in state, and there followed a distribution of rewards to those who had supported him. Letters were also despatched to Nizam-ul-Mulk asking him to come to Delhi and take up the duties of Minister. This was a post which the Nizam was by no means anxious to occupy. His experience of the intrigues at the Imperial Court had disgusted him with the life; his great rivals were now removed; and he had resolved to make himself independent in the Deccan. For the time, however, he deemed it advisable to consent, and so, after regulating his affairs in the Deccan, he marched leisurely towards Delhi, where he arrived in the middle of 1721. Nizam-ul-Mulk was now the most prominent personage in the Empire. He enjoyed

a reputation for great shrewdness and caution, but at the same time for boldness in seizing and utilizing his opportunities. A man of this stamp was not likely to be long without enemies, and no sooner had he arrived in Delhi and taken up the duties of his post than intrigues were organized against him. On every side he found himself opposed and thwarted, and there were not wanting unworthy favourites to warn the Emperor that he was only substituting another king-maker in the place of those who had been removed. Nizam-ul-Mulk was too wise and shrewd to throw away the substance of power which he had already won in the Deccan for the shadow which depended on the fickle favour of a royal master, and accordingly he made up his mind to leave at the earliest opportunity, and never to return in the capacity of a subject. On the pretence of wishing to recruit his health by hunting he left Delhi for a few days, and then, taking the opportunity of an uprising of the Mahrattas in Malva, advanced to Ahmedabad. Here he was met by news both from Delhi and Hyderabad. From the capital he heard that his son Ghazi-ud-Din, whom he had left as his Deputy, had been removed by the intrigues of his enemies, that the faction of his opponents was in power, and that the city was in a state of wholesale corruption. From the Deccan on the other hand he learnt that Mubariz Khan, the lieutenant whom he had left at Hyderabad, had revolted and had given out that he had been appointed Subadar of the Deccan. This decided him. He resolved to renounce for ever Delhi ambition and intrigue and to devote the rest of his life to independence. He therefore turned his back upon Hindustan and marched rapidly towards Aurungabad. Arrived there he sent several conciliatory messages to Mubariz Khan, reminding him of former obligations; but finding them disregarded, he marched to meet him. The two armies met near Shakar Kerar in Berar, and though Mubariz

Khan fought very bravely he was totally defeated, himself and his two sons being killed. The Nizam then advanced to Hyderabad, which from this time he made his head-quarters, From this time (1723) the independence of the Hyderabad State may be dated, and the Emperor was obliged to recognize the accomplished fact. He did this with as good a grace as possible, and sent to his powerful vassal a present of elephants and jewels, with the title of *Asaf Jah* and directions "to settle the country, repress the turbulent, punish the rebels, and cherish the people." This the Nizam did, and Khafi Khan thus concludes his interesting history of this period: "In a short time the country was brought under the control of the Mussulman authorities—it was scoured from the abominations of infidelity and tyranny. Under former Subadars, the roads had been infested with the ruffianism of highway robbers and the rapacity of the Mahrattas and rebellious *zemindars*, so that traffic and travelling were stopped, but now the highways were safe and secure. The Mahrattas had exacted the *chouth* with all sorts of tyranny from the jaghirdars, and in addition to it ten per cent under the name of *surdeshmukh*. By this means odious *kumaish-dars* were removed and changed every week and month; orders beyond all endurance of the ryots were issued, and annoyances and insults were heaped upon the collectors of the jaghirdars. Nizam-ul-mulk so arranged that instead of the *chouth* of the *Suba* of Hyderabad a sum of money should be paid from his treasury, and that the *surdeshmukh* which was levied from the ryots at the rate of ten per cent should be abandoned. He thus got rid of the presence of the *kumaish-dars* (collectors) of the *chouth* and the officials of the *surdeshmukh* and *rahdari* passport system), from which latter impost great annoyance had fallen upon travellers and traders."

From this time forward the Nizam was practically independent. He had brought with him to the Deccan a band of

devoted adherents, and upon them he bestowed large gifts of land. Some of these were Mahomedans, but some also were Hindoos. The former were utilized for military service, and in return for their valuable jaghirs they were bound to furnish large bodies of soldiers—foot, horse, and artillery. So greatly did the Nizam depend upon the noblemen for support and loyal service that he divided his newly acquired kingdom roughly into thirds. One third was reserved for his own privy purse, and was termed the *Sarf-i-Khas;* one third was allotted for the expenses of the Government, and was called the *Dewan's* territory, and the remaining third was distributed as jaghirs or feudal estates. Of these the military fiefs were the most important, and are still known as the *Pagah* estates. So extensive were the powers granted to the holders of these fiefs that they formed a kind of *imperium in imperio* and in their own jaghirs possessed sovereign rights. They had the power of life and death, and were excluded from all State taxation. This division of power and wealth was probably necessary in order to safeguard the new ruler of the country from rivalry and rebellion, but it contained in it the seeds of future difficulties and complication. The Hindoo noblemen were chiefly employed in administrative work. This was a wise measure, for a large proportion of the population of the country say 90 out of 100, consisted then as it does now of Hindoos. In this policy Asaf Jah showed great sagacity and knowledge of Deccan traditions. From the time of the first Gulburga Sultan, Allah-ud-Din, it had been the custom for the Mahomedan princes to employ Hindoos to manage the land revenue and finance. This work they had done with eminent success until the twenty years campaign of Aurungzebe revolutionized the condition of the Deccan. The first Nizam had a new element to deal with, that of the Mahrattas, and he therefore showed great wisdom in reverting to the old policy of entrusting Hindoos with the task of dealing with

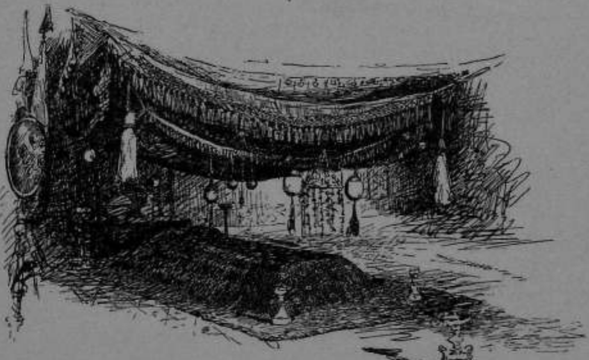
their Hindoo rivals in the matter of land revenue and finance, and of relying upon his Mahomedan followers to furnish his military contingent. But the old Deccan nobility disappeared or fell into obscurity. Under this term we refer more especially to the Mahomedan families of the Deccan. The Hindoo Rajas and landholders remained. They gave their allegiance to the new master, and were confirmed in their old privileges and possessions. But the Deccannee or Mahomedan nobles were all more or less pledged to former Viceroys, and followed with them their changes of fortune, their estates being bestowed upon the adherents of the new régime. Thus the *protégés* of the first Nizam gladly accepted the title of *Asaf Jahis* or followers of Asaf Jah, and to the present day this designation is highly prized as a proof of honourable descent.

Asaf Jah, by prudence, caution, self-restraint and by boldness, thus succeeded in raising himself to a position of the highest importance in India. One of his great rivals was killed, and the other was kept in confinement in which he shortly died, some say of a natural death, but Khafi Khan says: "God forbid that his (the Emperor's) counsel should have been given for poison, but God only knows!"

Indian history is for the most part a record of daring adventurers, who gain power and sometimes the throne by a series of crimes and utilize it for purposes of extortion, tyranny, and oppression. In the lives of Zulficcar Khan and of the two Seyds we have a striking example of such careers and of the inevitable catastrophe. Asaf Jah presents a remarkable contrast to the general rule. His rise to power is stained by no crime, domestic or public, and his story is simply that of a man who bided his time, who seized his opportunity, and who was loyal to those who treated him loyally.

The time has now come to close the first portion of this history. The days of the Empire were fast drawing to a close.

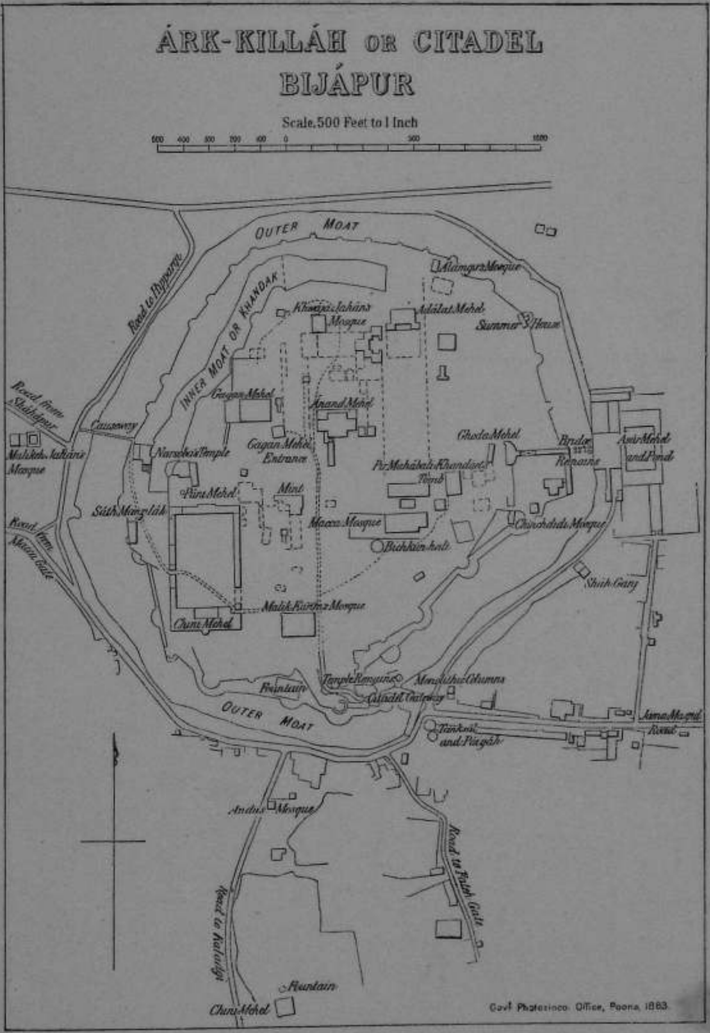
Beyond the Khyber Pass began to loom the shadow of the Persian conqueror, and in Maharashtra a nation had been formed that was to make a bid for the Empire. It did so and failed, and in the meanwhile in the West and the East and North-East the small clouds of British power, at the time scarcely bigger than a man's hand, gradually increased in size, until a few years later the English were called in first as the aids and then as the arbiters of the Mahomedan Emperors. With the death of Aurungzebe the decay of the Mogul Empire commenced and at the death of Mahomed Shah the Empire had practically ceased to exist. If Asaf Jah had had successors worthy of him, the Delhi Emperors would have been followed by as glorious a dynasty in the Deccan.

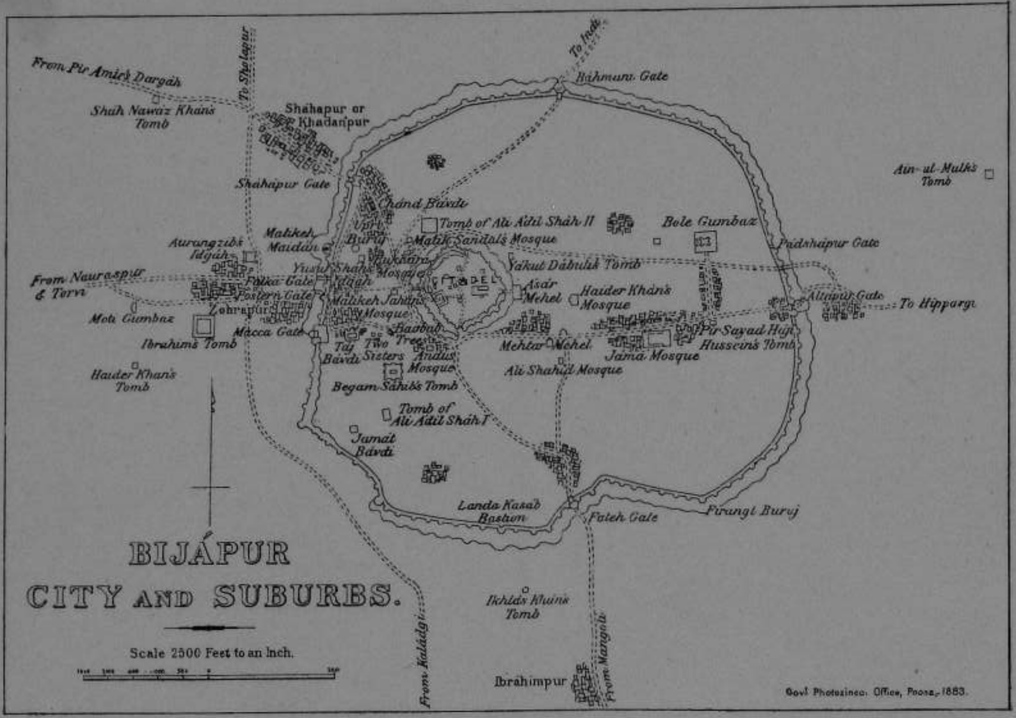


GENEALOGY OF ASAF JAH, THE FIRST NIZAM.

1. Mohomed bin Abi Bukr.
2. Aboo Mohomed Mukkee.
3. Aboolkasim Makee.
4. Abdul Rehman Makee.
5. Abdulla Basri.
6. Mohomed Kasim Khushkee.
7. Nasruddin Basri.
8. Kasim Ali Roomi.
9. Mohomed Saeed Kushkee.
10. Abdulla Soofi.
11. Abdul Razzak Bagdadi.
12. Abdulla Bagdadi.
13. Mohomed Baha ooddin Bagdadi.
14. Shiekh Mohomed Bagdadi.
15. Shiekhulsheyookh Shahab ooddin Sohurverdi.
16. Abi Mohomed Hafiz.
17. Zenooddin Qutbul-aktak.
18. Shiekh Alâ ooddin.
19. Shiekh Tajooddin.
20. Shiekh Fateh oollah.
21. Shiekh Najib oollah.
22. Fatehulshiekhussani.
23. Shiekh Javíd Ulmolukub Sirmusp.
24. Fatehoolla Shiekhussani.
25. Shiekh Javíd Shah Sani.
26. Huzrut Mohomed Durvesh.
27. Shiekh Mohomed Moomin.
28. Mohomed Alumulshiekhul Saddikiul Alvi.
29. Khawaja Azizau Aluna.
30. Khawaja Mir Ismail.
31. Mir Abid Khan Ulmokhatib Ba Kooleej Khan Walíd-i-Kamruddin Khan.
32. Feroze Jung.
33. Chin Koolich Khan *Asaf Jah* 1st Nizam.

Kindly furnished by the private Secretary to H.H. the Nizam.


ÁRK-KILLÁH OR CITADEL
BIJÁPUR
Scale, 500 Feet to 1 Inch
500
400
300
200
100
0
500
1000
OUTER MOAT
INNER MOAT OR KHANDAK
Road to Pippargi
Road from Sháhápur
Causeway
Malikeh Jaháns Mosque
Road from Mecca Gate
Áliamgir's Mosque
Adálat Mehel
Summer House
Khwájáh Jaháns Mosque
Gagan Mehel
Ánand Mehel
Gagan Mehel Entrance
Narsoba's Temple
Ghuda Mehel
Bridge Remains
Amir Mehel and Pond
Pír Mehábali Khandait's Tomb
Púni Mehel
Mint
Sáth Manzláh
Mecca Mosque
Chinchdidi Mosque
Bichkin hali
Shah Ganj
Malik Karim's Mosque
Chini Mehel
Fountain
Temple Remains
Monolithic Columns
Citadel Gateway
OUTER MOAT
Tánksál and Págáh
Jama Masjid Road
Andus Mosque
Road to Fateh Gate
Road to Kalaldgi
Fountain
Chini Mehel
Govt Photozinco Office, Poona, 1883.



BIJÁPUR
CITY AND SUBURBS.
Scale 2500 Feet to an Inch.
Gov't Photozinco. Office, Poona, 1883.
From Pir Amir's Dargah
Shah Nawaz Khan's Tomb
To Sholapur
Shahapur or Khadanpur
Shahapur Gate
To Indi
Bahmani Gate
Ain-ul-Mulk's Tomb
Chand Bavdi
Tomb of Ali Adil Shah II
Bole Gumbaz
Padshapur Gate
Aurangzib's Idgah
Malikeh Maidan
Upri Burj
Malik Sandal's Mosque
Yusuf Shah's Mosque
Idgah
Yakut Dabuli's Tomb
From Nauraspur & Torvi
Fatka Gate
Postern Gate
Zohrapur
Malikeh Jahan's Mosque
Asar Mehel
Haider Khan's Mosque
Allapur Gate
To Hippargi
Moti Gumbaz
Ibrahim's Tomb
Macca Gate
Taj Bavdi
Two Sisters
Baobab Tree
Andus Mosque
Mehtar Mehel
Jama Mosque
Pir Sayad Haji Hussein's Tomb
Ali Shahid Mosque
Haider Khan's Tomb
Begam Sahib's Tomb
Tomb of Ali Adil Shah I
Jamat Bavdi
Landa Kasab Bastion
Fateh Gate
Firangi Buruj
Ikhlas Khan's Tomb
From Kaladgi
Ibrahimpur
From Mangoli

APPENDIX.

Owing to the kind permission of the Government of Bombay I have been permitted to reproduce the description of Bijapur and the plans of the city as they appear in Vol. XXIII of the Bombay Gazetteer. The description of Hyderabad I propose to reserve for the second portion of this history which will consist for the greater part of the history of modern Hyderabad under the present dynasty founded in the first quarter of the last century.

Bija'pur,[1] during the sixteenth and the greater part of the seventeenth centuries (1490-1686) the capital of the Adil Sháh dynasty and the mistress of the Deccan, is in north latitude 16° 50′ and east longitude 75° 48′, about 1950[2] feet above the sea, on the north slope of the ridge which forms the water-shed of the Kistna and Bhima rivers. It is a station on the Hudgi-Gadag or East Deccan railway sixty miles south of Sholápur. Its surroundings have nothing striking or picturesque. On all sides for long distances stretch waving treeless downs, the uplands covered with a shallow stony soil, bare except during the south-west rains (June-October), and separated by dips or hollows of comparatively rich soil. To the north the country is peculiarly desolate, nothing but ridge after ridge, scarcely a village as far as the eye can see. To the very walls the country is the

[1] Contributed by Mr. H. F. Silcock, C. S.

[2] The levels taken in different parts of the city are 1932 feet at the Ásar Mehel, 1940 at the Boli Gumbaz, 1960 at the plinth of the Two Sisters, 1972 at the mámlatdár's office in the Macca Gate, and over 2000 feet near the Idgáh. Mr. E. K. Reinold, C. E.

same, except that outside of the city the monotony of the rolling plain is relieved by tombs and other buildings. From the north the first glimpse of Bijápur is about fifteen miles distant, where the dome of the Boli Gumbaz rises above the intervening uplands, and, as the city is neared, fills the eye from every point, looming large against the southern horizon. At five miles the whole city breaks suddenly into view, and far on every side the country is covered with buildings of varied shapes and in different stages of decay. The numbers of tombs, mosques, palaces and towers which lie scattered in every direction, give the scene a strangely impressive grandeur. To the right, the white domes of Pir Amin's tomb gleam in the sunlight, a brilliant contrast to the dark gray ruins in the foreground. In front lie the city's massive walls and bastions, with here and there a stately building towering over the fortifications, while, on the left, the colossal proportions of the Boli or Gol Gumbaz dwarf its surroundings. Still further to the left, the plain, the old battlefield, is dotted with tombs, among which is conspicuous the massive dark gray mausoleum of Ain-ul-Mulk. Close round the city the land is surprisingly barren. The ground in front is bare of trees and all vegetation, and is broken into large irregular hollows, the quarries from which the city was hewn. On the west miles of ruins of the old town of Sháhápur (1510-1636) prevent cultivation. Close to the walls on the south are traces of tillage, but none of it shows from a distance. The only object is the great city stretching far and near in a waste whose desolate glimpses of noble buildings, some fairly preserved others in ruins, make the more striking.

South of Bijápur the country changes. On the southern side of the ridge which overlooks the city there is considerable cultivation. The same treeless ridges remain, but between the ridges are fairly rich hollows, and, within eight miles of the walls, is the valley of the Don now as of old

the granary of Bijápur. The slope of a barren ridge, surrounded on three sides by a treeless cropless plain, seems a strange site for a capital. The desert to the north where no invading army could find food or fodder was no doubt a valuable defence to Bijápur on the side most open to attack. But the crest of the ridge to the south, commanding the approaches on both sides, seems at first a better site for a fortress. The reason for the choice of the present site seems to have been that the crest of the ridge is waterless while within the walls of Bijápur the supply of water is abundant. The under rock teems with splendid springs of which, to judge by the remains of wells and gardens, full advantage was taken. Later on the local supply was increased by artificial means, and the Torvi conduit and the Begam Lake made the city almost independent of its local resources.[1]

Bijápur within the walls covers about 1600 acres or two and a half square miles. The suburbs even now spread over a large area, and in the city's prime stretched for miles. The walls, which are still in fair order, are about six and a quarter miles round and form an irregular ellipse of which the major axis from the Macca Gate in the west to the Allápur Gate in the east is about two and three-quarters and the minor axis from the Bahmani Gate in the north to the Fateh Gate in the south is about one and three-quarters miles.

The city walls are surrounded by a deep moat forty to fifty feet broad. They are massive and strong, and, not counting ten at the gates, are strengthened with ninety-six bastions of various designs and different degrees of strength. In height the walls vary from thirty to fifty feet, and have an average thickness of twenty feet which in places they greatly exceed. The general plan of construction is much the same in the different sections, though the design and

[1] The Torvi water works are described at page 403.

finish vary.[1] They seem to consist of two massive stone walls twenty to thirty feet high and twenty to thirty feet apart, with the space between filled with earth, well rammed, and covered with a masonry platform. This platform which runs all round the walls, was protected on the inside by a battlemented curtainwall about ten feet high running from bastion to bastion and loopholed for both artillery and small arms. On this platform there was ample room for the movements of the garrison, who, from their superior station, could with ease command the ground outside. The construction of the walls was undertaken by Ali Adil Sháh I. (1557-1580),

[1] Major Moor (Little's Detachment, 310, 311) describes the walls in May 1792 as, A thick stone building about twenty feet high with a ditch and rampart. Capacious towers of large hewn stone were at every hundred yards much neglected and many fallen in the ditch. The curtain was of great height perhaps forty feet from the berme of the ditch entirely built of huge stones strongly cemented and frequently ornamented with sculptured representations of lions and tigers. The towers were very numerous and of vast size built of the same materials and some with top ornaments like a cornice and otherwise in the same style with the curtain. Captain Sydenham (Asiatic Researches, XIII, 435) describes the walls in 1811 as a rampart flanked by 109 towers of different dimensions, a ditch and covert way surrounding it, and a citadel in the interior. These works were very strong and were still in fair repair, their outer and inner faces being of hewn stone laid in mortar. The parapets which were nine feet high and three feet thick were composed entirely of stone and mortar. The towers were in general semicircular with a radius of about thirty-six feet. The curtains, which appeared to rise from the bottom of the ditch, varied from thirty to forty feet in height, and were about twenty-four feet thick. The ditch was in many places filled and was so covered with vegetation that not a trace of it appeared. In other parts it seemed to have been formed through rock, forty to fifty feet broad and about eighteen feet deep. A faced counterscarp showed in many places and the remains of a line of masonry running parallel about seventy yards in front pointed out the boundary of the covert way. In 1792 Major Moor found this covert way almost perfect. He says it was one hundred and fifty and in places two hundred yards broad. (Little's Detachment, 311). At present hardly a sign of the covert way remains. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone (Colebrooke's Life, II. 70) describes the walls in 1819: The ditch and the rampart enclose a circle of six miles circumference. The rampart is of earth supported by strong walls and large stones. It is twenty-four feet thick at top, and has Indian battlements in tolerable order and large towers at moderate distances. We mounted a very lofty tower separate from the wall. From this height we saw the plan of the town, now scattered with ruins and in some places full of trees. The most conspicuous object next to the great dome is the citadel. On the whole I find Bijápur much above my expectations and far beyond anything I have ever seen in the Deccan. There is something solemn in this scene and one thinks with a melancholy interest on its former possessors. The proofs of their power remain while their weaknesses and crimes are forgotten and our admiration of their grandeur is heightened by our compassion for their fall.

on his return from the decisive victory of Tálikoti (1565) in which the power of the great Hindoo kingdom of Vijayanagar (1335-1587) perished. They are said to have been completed in two years and a half, though as necessity arose strong bastions were added at intervals down to the overthrow of the Adil Sháh dynasty in 1686. It is locally reported that the nobles of the realm were each entrusted with a bastion and curtain wall; and that this explains the great variety in the design and detail of the different sections which adds much to the handsomeness and impressiveness of the whole. On each of the leading bastions a stone tablet commemorating its building was let into the wall. Some of these tablets remain, but many have fallen out and been carried away.

Of the ninety-six bastions, three, the Sherzi bastion on the west and the Lánda Kasáb and Firangi bastions on opposite sides of the Fateh Gate on the south, greatly exceed the others in size and strength.

The SHERZI BURUJ or Lion Tower takes its name from two heraldic lions carved in stone to the right of the entrance which leads to the tower platform.[1] The bastion is not very high, but is of great diameter and is very strong. In the centre are two raised circular platforms for cannon, on one of which lies, supported on beams of wood, the great bronze gun of Bijápur the Malik-i-Maidán or Monarch of the Plain till recently almost the largest piece of ordnance in existence, and a splendid specimen of the founder's skill. The bastion is furnished with bombproof powder-chambers and water-tanks, and apparently it was never exposed to fire as the masonry is untouched. Dread of the Malik-i-Maidán prevented attacks, which was well for the garrison, as from its unwieldy size and peculiar construction the gun could not have done much harm, and, as the bastion was so low, it might have been comparatively easily scaled. The inscription tablet states that this tower

[1] Bird in Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, I, 354.

was built about A.D. 1658 by Nawáb Munzli Sháhin in the reign of Ali Adil Sháh II. (1656-1672). It was therefore almost the last addition to the defences. The inscription runs:

"During the reign of the victorious king Ali Adil Sha'h, who, through the favour of God gained a glorious victory, this bastion was in five months made firm as a rock by the successful efforts of Munzli Sha'h An angel in delight gave the date of the building saying, The Sherzi bastion is without an equal."

The numerical value of the angel's words is 1069 that is A.D. 1658. Near the Fateh Gate on the south, and about 530 yards west-southwest of it, a bastion towers above its neighbours. This is locally known as the LÁNḌA KASÁB. On it is the largest gun in Bijápur, though as it is in a seldom visited part of the city, its existence has been overlooked and the Malik-i-Maidán is generally considered the largest. The bastion was built about A.D. 1609 by Hazrat Sháh in the reign of Ibráhim II. (1580-1626). A second inscription tablet seems to show that it was not finished till 1662, as this tablet, let into the inside wall of the bastion, records the completion of the walls in that year. The Lánda Kasáb seems to have been the most formidable in construction and armament of all the bastions on the south side, as, in addition to the large iron gun referred to, two other pieces of artillery were mounted on it, one of which, something like a modern mortar, still lies on it. Against this bastion Aurangzeb in 1686 seems to have directed the whole fire of his artillery, and pitted it with shot-marks.[1] Little damage was done to the tower itself, but a breach was made in the curtain-wall close by, and, as the garrison could be relieved from that side only, the steps leading to the top of the bastion were open to the fire, and the place was no doubt untenable. Both guns seem to have been more than once struck, and the larger one lies dismounted, probably from a shot which struck it near the muzzle.

[1] Outside the walls, near the Lánda Kasáb bastion, is the tomb of Eklas Khán the dome of which was destroyed by shots during Aurangzeb's siege. The whole tomb bears marks of heavy fire. From the direction of the shot-marks it seems that it was seized as an advanced post by Aurangzeb's army, and recovered by the defenders.

The Firangi Buruj or Portuguese Tower, about 1000 yards east of the Fateh Gate, is the most complete of all the bastions, and from its peculiar construction is extremely interesting. It is a hollow semicircular tower, in the middle of a strong battlemented curtain-wall, along every few yards of which are small raised platforms for cannon. The tower rises about thirty feet above the general platform of the walls, and about half-way up a passage-way or corridor was built running round the interior, access to which was gained by steep flights of stone stairs at each end of the tower. On this corridor masonry platforms for small cannon were constructed, while at each end are small ammunition chambers. The hollowness of this tower takes greatly from its value as a defence. It is called the Portuguese Tower because it was built by a Portuguese general who took service with Ali Adil Sháh I. (1557-1580) in 1576. As far as inscriptions show his name was Yoghris Khán, and, on the tablet in the tower, he is called the Slave of Ali Adil Sháh. Nothing else is known of this man. The name Yoghris was probably taken on entering the Bijápur service. To judge from the works entrusted to him he must have stood high in the king's favour. Their inscriptions seem to show that the Fateh Gate was one of the bastions of the Macca Gate, and one or two other parts of the walls were built by him or under his supervision. The north face of the walls has several fine bastions. But the Sherzi, Lánda Kasáb, and Firangi are the best worth seeing, as each is remarkable to Sherzi bastion for its armament, the Lánda Kasáb for its historical importance, and the Firangi for its construction and architecture.

Five large gates led into the city. [1] Four of these are still

[1] Near the Boli Gumbaz was a sixth gate called Pádshápur. It was undefended and appears to have been used for much the same purpose as the postern gate near the Macca Gateway. Several small postern gates in different parts of the city opened into the moat. The Pádshápur Gate was built up for many years and has only lately been opened.

in use; the fifth has been closed and turned into Government offices. These gates were, the Macca in the west, the Sháhápur leading to the Sháhápur suburb in the north-west, the Bahmani leading to the Bahmani kingdom in the north, the Allápur close to the Allápur suburb in the east, and the Mangoli to the south. Close to the Macca Gate a small postern gate led west into the Zohrápur suburb. The Macca Gate has been closed for more than a century, but communication with that quarter of the city was kept through the Postern Gate. In later years another western entrance was made close to the Sherzi Tower, the wall being knocked down and a bridge thrown across the moat. This gate, which is known as the Futka or Broken Gate, is now the chief western entrance to the city. Another gate to correspond with the Futka Gate was opened close to the Allápur Gate in the east, and a broad road has been lately made to join the two and open this part of the city which ruins and brushwood made wholly inaccessible. The ancient gateways are models of building, and are immensely strong. The general plan in all is much the same; two massive circular towers with the doorway between, and above the door a platform guarded by a battlemented wall. In front of these towers a broad clear space is surrounded by lofty fortified walls joined with the towers and loopholed for musketry. These walls also end in small castellated towers with another gateway between, facing parallel to the city-walls, so that in addition to the fire from the gateway the approach was swept by the fire from the walls. The gates themselves, some of which remain, are of thick wooden beams about six inches square fastened together with iron clamps, strengthened with massive bars, and bristling with twelve-inch iron spikes. With the siege appliances of the days of the Bijápur monarchy, gateways such as these were impregnable, and no attempt seems to have been made to force them. Aurangzeb did not enter the city till it sur-

rendered, and made no attempt to gain the gateways. The name Fateh or Victory, by which the Mangoli Gate is known, preserves the conquest of Bijápur by the Emperor Aurangzeb. Through this gateway he entered the captured city in state and to mark the circumstance ordered the name of the gate to be changed from Mangoli to Fateh or Victory. A handsome gun, cast-iron inlaid with brass in a scroll pattern, which is said to have been dropped by the Emperor's troops while filing through this gateway, has been lately raised and placed on the platform of the Two Sisters. The Macca Gateway, which is now closed and used as the offices of the mámlatdár and subordinate judge, is by far the strongest and most complex of the gates. Its appearance is so changed by the houses built inside of it that the general plan is difficult to master. Outside it is somewhat like the others, the walls ending in two round towers with a doorway between. Inside the construction is peculiar. The gateway looks like a large bastion furnished with several platforms for the working of heavy guns and with covered ways loopholed for musketry. On the city side too it was strongly fortified, for, though the guns could not be trained on this side, a passage ran along the front loopholed for musketry and communicating with the interior of the fortification. The whole plan is more that of a strong fort than a gateway, and great pains seem to have been taken to make it impregnable not only to enemies without but to treachery within. One of the guns, which lay dismounted on the southern tower, has been raised on a masonry platform. It is interesting for its inlaid muzzle and from having apparently burst at the breech and been repaired by welding round it a massive coil of iron. Two or three fine trees on the gun-platforms add to the picturesqueness of this part of the fortification which is well worth a visit. The gate is said to have been closed and garrisoned by order of the Peshwa's government about 1762 to protect the city from robbers.

From whatever direction it is approached, Bijápur has an air of striking grandeur. Its perfect walls and bastions and the glimpses of noble buildings pleasantly shaded combine to give the impression that the city is peopled and prosperous. When the gate is passed the waste inside is a sudden surprise. From the west the approach through the modern village of Torvi is some preparation for the ruin within the walls. Long lines of fallen houses, with here and there a palace wall or a mosque mark the site of the old town of Sháhápur. Nearer the city on the south, is the beautiful tomb and mosque of Ibráhim II. (1580-1626) and in front above the almost unharmed walls Kháwas Khán's tomb now known as the Two Sisters and the Seven-Storeyed Palace rise in the middle distance, and further on is a glimpse of the dome of the Jáma Mosque and of the Boli Gumbaz of Sultán Máhmud (1626-1656). The greater part of the people of modern Bijápur are settled close to the western gate, and though their lowly huts are a marked contrast to the stately monuments of the past, the air of life and cheerfulness is a not unpleasing relief among the waste of ruins. When the peopled western quarter is passed the ruin and loneliness of the inside become more and more painful, though shady gardens round tombs and other ancient buildings relieve the monotony and mask the desolation. Towards the centre of the city a road well lined with trees leads to the Citatel or Árk-killáh with the royal palaces and other public buildings. On all sides are splendid specimens of the builder's art. The Sát Mazli, Ánand Mehel, and Gagan Mehel within the citadel, and the Malika Jahán mosque, the Ásar Mehel, and the unfinished tomb of Ali Adil Sháh II. immediately without, form a group rarely equalled for picturesqueness, each in itself a gem of art. Beyond the Citadel north towards the Bahmani or east towards the Allápur gates, is a dreary waste, with almost

nothing save fallen palaces and roofless dwellings overgrown with custard-apples and other wild shrubs, while an occasional unharmed tomb or mosque makes the surrounding desolation the more complete. Even these ruins have glimpses of the Bijápur of the author of Tára. Amidst the ruins are enclosures that were once gardens in which broken fountains and dry water-courses suggest visions of elegance and comfort, and where low brushwood and tangled grass have choked fragrant flowers and rich fruit trees. Here and there a jasmin, run wild, trails over ruined walls and once trim terraces. Mournful as is the desolation the picturesque beauty of the buildings, the fine old trees and the mixing of hoary ruins and perfect buildings form an everchanging and impressive scene. Striking as they are, the imagination is perhaps less stirred by the grandeur of the public buildings than by the countless other ruins. Palaces, arches, tombs, and minarets, all carved from rich brown basalt, garlanded by creepers and broken and wrenched by *pipal* and banian roots, furnish fresh interest even after days spent in the ruins. In the height of prosperity Bijápur must have been a noble city. Still it may be questioned if its buildings were so effective in their prime as they now are deserted and in ruins.

The Árk-killáh[1] or Citadel, nearly in the centre of the city, is one of the most interesting parts of Bijápur, a perfect treasury of artistic buildings. It was chosen by Yusuf Adil Sháh (1489-1510) as the site for his fort, but was so changed and improved by his successors as to leave little of the old village of Bichkanhali.[2] The present citadel is nearly circular, a little less than a mile round measuring by the counterscarp of the ditch. Its defences are a strong curtain, with, on the south and east, several bastions of considerable strength, a

[1] The Árk of Árk-killáh is of doubtful origin. It is probably taken from the Sanskrit *ark* the sun.

[2] Captain Sykes (Bom. Lit. Trans. III. 61) says this village was called Kejganhalli.

faussebraye or rampart mound and ditch, the whole well built and massive.[1] The faussebraye is very wide, especially on the north and north-west, where a second wet ditch was cut at the foot of the rampart, which on these sides was very low, apparently to give the royal palaces whose fronts all look in that direction an unbroken view over the city and country round. The citadel was begun by Yusuf Adil Sháh shortly after his revolt in 1489. A mud fort then stood on the site.[2] The mud wall was taken down and a strong stone wall built in 1493,[3] many of the stones being apparently taken from Hindoo temples as this wall contains much carving like that found in temple stones. The citadel was not completely fortified till the reign of Ibráhim Adil Sháh I. (1534-1557). A stone tablet in one of the bastions near the gateway marks its completion in A.D. 1546 (A.H. 953) under the superintendence of Khán A'zam Ekhtiar Khán. The original design seems to have been to build a double wall round the fort with two moats, and to have the space between the walls a garden. This design seems never to have been carried out. On the south and south-west the double wall was built, and the space between turned into a garden with ponds and fountains, but this inner wall passed only a short way west. On the east only one wall was built, though its base was guarded by a curtain-wall running from bastion to bastion. On the north side the main wall of the citadel was very low, apparently not to block the view, but on this side the double moat sufficed for protection. Though the walls are strong and massive, and several formidable bastions were built at prominent points, it seems unlikely that such a fort could have ever stood for any time against an enemy

[1] Little's Detachment, 320. In 1819 the citadel which had a double rampart and a moat enclosing numerous and magnificent palaces was in a state of ruin and decay. The courts were overgrown with trees and choked with weeds and everything looked dismal and forlorn. Colebrooke's Elphinstone, II. 71.
[2] Briggs' Ferishta, II. 462. [3] Briggs' Ferishta, III. 14.

armed with artillery who had forced the city fortifications. The site is unfavourable. It is almost the lowest part of the city and is commanded by the rising ground on the north-west, on which is built the cavalier called the Upri Buruj. No doubt the deep moat, even if not swarming with crocodiles as Tavernier reports,[1] made the place difficult of approach. Still this was but a slight obstacle, to a well-armed enemy in possession of the north-western height, as all the palaces would be open to his fire and the place be untenable. This unprotected state of the public buildings tends to show that in later years the Árk-killáh was never used as a citadel, but simply as a royal résidence. It may have been owing to its defenceless position that Ali Adil Sháh I. (1557-1580) resolved on fortifying the whole city instead of trusting to the central castle.

At present the main entrance to the citadel is on the south-east by two traversed gateways of considerable strength. Originally[2] five well fortified gates are mentioned but of three of these no trace remains. Apparently the gateways were added after the fortifications were complete. The original or south-east gate lay between the two lofty circular bastions in which the fort-walls ended, and the entrance seems to have led through an old Hindoo temple much of which was left standing and the column used in making the gateway and the guard-house attached.[3] Additions were built to the outside of

[1] Harris' Voyages, II. 360. [2] Ogilby's Atlas (1680), V. 246.

[3] Some hold that there was no temple here and that the columns were gathered from different places to form a guard-room. Looking to the peculiar character of these columns, which differ greatly from the others in the Ark-killáh, and to the copious Kánarese inscriptions, also to the fact that the distance of the columns from each other is much the same as if they were parts of an old Hindoo temple but is not what it would have been had they been brought to form a guard-house it is difficult to believe that the columns are not the remains of an unmoved temple. Some on each side of the gateway correspond so exactly that it is hard to believe that they are not in their original places. Moreover all he architectural remains close by are Hindoo. The large slab spanning the entrance is raised on stones undoubtedly part of a temple, and close by are the remains of Hindoo victory pillars. If all these were brought from a distance it is strange that they should have been centred in so comparatively narrow a space.

these bastions in the form of flanking walls, and a second gate, with a guard-room above it, was made in front of the earlier gate and strengthened by a fortified wall which ran parallel with the entrance and at right angles to the bridge leading over the moat.[1] Every precaution seems to have been taken to make this gateway impregnable. In itself it is very strong, and ample quarters for a large garrison were provided, while the powerful end bastions commanded all approaches. This was the only entrance till, in the reign of Máhmud Adil Sháh (1626-1656), a causeway was thrown across the moat on the west, but it is so narrow as to be of use only to walkers. On entering by the main gateway, after passing through beautifully carved basaltic Hindoo columns, the height and massiveness of the side walls at once attract attention. No guns remain on any of the bastions, but the platforms are untouched. They are said to have formerly been armed with 100 guns, but considering their size and number this is scarcely probable.[2] After passing the old temple the road crosses the centre of the Ark-killáh and leaves on the left another so-called Hindoo temple or college which is evidently a mosque built of temple remains.[3] Beyond this it sends off one branch on the left to the Granary or Chini Mehel I. and the Sát Mazli which in later years was the favourite residence of the kings and is still a singularly beautiful palace. Another branch leads to the right in the direction of the Macca mosque and passes close to a low circular wall

[1] It is curious that in this fortification, which is evidently a subsequent addition, the guard-room over the bridge is built in very much the same style as the small chambers in the towers of the Idgáh near the Upri Buruj, which is said to have been constructed by Yusuf. The main gateway and bastions were no doubt built by him and he may have also built the outer line of defence subsequently, but with the exception of this guard-room, the rest of the towers and walls seem of a later age than the main gateway.

[2] Ogilby's Atlas, V. 247.

[3] Some hold that the four centre columns under what may be styled the dome as well as the entrance gateway are remains of a Hindoo temple in place. But the rest of the building has been undoubtedly formed from the stones of other temples brought for the purpose of building the mosque.

which is said to mark the centre of the old village of Bichkanhali. Following the straight road towards the north, after passing the Mint and one or two other ruined buildings, the Ánand Mehel or Joy Palace is reached, one of the most beautiful palaces in Bijápur, surrounded by remains of terraced walks, fountains, and gardens. On the opposite side lies the Gagan Mehel famous for the large arch which spans its front, while the gateway which opens on the road, now being turned into a church, is no less remarkable for the exquisite stucco ornament of the interior. The main building of this palace which is now in ruins is one of the oldest in the city and for many years was the residence of the kings. Afterwards when the Sát Mazli and Chini Mehel I. were built the Gagan Mehel was turned into a reception-hall. Here in 1686 the Emperor Aurangzeb received the submission of the last of the Adil Sháh kings, the youthful Shikandar, amid the passionate tears of the nobles and the wailing cries of thousands, which rose to the throne of God as a witness against the causeless aggressor.[1] The only other public building which can be identified is the Adálat Mehel on the north-east, and of this only the bare walls are left. On the western side near the causeway the Hindoo temple of Narsoba stands picturesquely on the side of the inner moat. In this temple it is said king Ibráhim II. (1580-1626) used to worship, when for some years he forsook the faith of his fathers.

With the rays of the morning sun streaming through the oriel windows of the Sát Mazli and the waters of the inner moat lapping its base and reflecting its climber-clothed walls, few places in Bijápur, until recent changes, were more beautiful than this Ark-killáh. Few places also are fuller of memories than the Árk-killáh. Here in 1510 the young

[1] Colonel Meadows Taylor in Architecture of Bijápur. 47.

Ismáil (1510-1534) was besieged by his traitor minister Kamál Khán; here between 1511 and 1585 the noble queen Chánd Sultána held her court, and from here was (1580) sent prisoner to Sátára; here Máhmud the Merry (1626-1656) spent happy hours with his favourite the beautiful Rhumba; and this same citadel, the scene of many a glorious pageant, witnessed also the overthrow of the dynasty of which it was the glory and the pride. Though its palaces are in ruins, its gardens choked with tangled grass and thorns, and its water-courses and fountains dry, an air of kingly dignity clings to the Árk-killáh, and rouses a feeling of reverent admiration for the noble dynasty.

Excluding the citadel, Bijápur within walls, during the days of the monarchy, seems to have been divided into thirty-three wards or *peths* most of which remain and are used for municipal purposes. Of ten the position is forgotten, and even since 1848 all trace of two has been lost. Of the twenty-three wards[1] into which the present city is divided, the five most important are Bara Khudan Bazár in the north-west, Máhmud Khán Bazár in the west, Ane-kendi Bazár in the east-centre, Jáma Mosque Peth in the east, and Sháh Peth in the north-east.

Bara Khuda Bazár, a corruption of Bara Khudávand in the northwest close to the Sháhápur Gate is one of the oldest parts of the city. In it is the large Chand well built by Ali Adil Sháh I. (1557-1580) in honour of his queen Chand Bibi. This ward is still fairly peopled. Máhmud Khán Bazár, in the west close to the Macca Gate, is the business

[1] The names of these wards passing west to east, are, 1 Bara Khudan Bazár; 2 Puráni Peth; 3 Langar Bazár; 4 Haidar Bazár; 5 Pali Bazár; 6 Fateh Jama Bazár; 7 Máhmud Khán Bazár; 8 Mubárak Khán Bazár; 9 Karanjin Bazár; 10 Rumi Khán Bazár; 11 Kamál Khán Bazár; 12 Murád Khán Bazár; 13 Ane-kendi Bazár; 14 Jáma Masjid Bazár; 15 Nághtán Bazár; 16 Jhakti Bazár; 17 Thána Budruk Bazár; 18 Shabutra Bazár; 19 Pádshápur Bazár; 20 Daulat Khán Bazár; 21 Sháh Peth; 22 Shikár Khána Bazár; and 23 Rangin Masjid Bazár. The site of the Murkho Khurd and Murkho Budruk wards is forgotten.

centre of the city, where the weekly market is held. It was named in honour of Sultán Máhmud (1626-1656) but all the present houses are modern. To the north of this ward may be seen the ruins of Afzul Khán's palace, the victim of Shiváji's treachery at Pratápgad in 1659 The Táj well, built by Ibrahim Adil Sháh II. (1580-1626) in honour of his queen Táj Sultána, is the most famous well in the city, and with the surrounding rest-houses, is an interesting piece of architecture, the large arch which spans the entrance to the well being particularly fine. The ÁNEKENDI BAZÁR, in the east centre to the north of the Jáma Mosque road, is interesting from its fine large entrance gateway. It contains the mosque of Mustápha Khán in which is some handsome stone carving, and the remains of several old palaces notably the palace of Kháwas Khán, minister to Ali Adil Sháh II. (1656-1672). The ward is said to take its name from *áne* the Kánarese for elephant, as the royal elephant stables were in this quarter. The JÁMA MOSQUE PETH has some fine old houses inhabited by the descendants of old Bijápur families. The great mosque is in this ward, and this is the headquarters of the Musalmán community. SHÁH PETH, in the north-east near the great dome, is interesting from its being inhabited almost wholly by Gavandis or masons, who, though they no longer follow the craft, are said to be the descendants of the masons who built Bijápur. The place is frequently called the Gavendis' ward. No interest attaches to any of the other wards inside the walls most of which are almost deserted.

Were it not for its suburbs, which even now are pretty thickly peopled, the city would present a still more unfavourable comparison than it does with that Bijápur which less than three centuries ago counted its inhabitants by the hundred-thousand. Of eight suburbs only five are of importance. Of tho five three are close to the city walls, Shahápur also called Khudanpur that is Khudávandpur and Fakirabad in the north-

west, Zohrápur called after Ibráhim II.'s wife in the west, and Ibráhimpur called after Ibráhim II. in the south. The remaining two are at some distance Sháhápur or Pir Amin's Darga about two miles to the north-west and Torvi about four miles to the west. The other suburbs are Allápur built by Yusuf Adil Sháh (1489-1510) a mile and a half, and Ainápur with a large unfinished tomb of Sultán Máhmud's wife Jahán Begam about two and a half miles, to the east of the city. Exactly opposite the Boli Gumbaz and about 150 yards from the wall is the railway station approached by the Hipargi road which runs east and west through the city to the north of the Árk-killáh.

Sháhápur Darga or Pir Amin's Darga, from the tomb of a Musalmán saint of that name, lies about two miles north-west of the Khudanpur Bazár, also known as Sháhápur Peth, on the side and crest of a hill which overlooks the city walls on the east and some fine mango groves on the west. The houses are clustered round the saint's tomb which is an object of great veneration and is well cared for. The tomb is gaudy, and the grounds round it are pretty and well kept, and, as the domes are regularly whitewashed, their colour from a distance forms a pleasing contrast to the gray ruins which surround them. Between Pir Amin's tomb and the city is the rest-house of Nawáb Mustápha Khán, a large quadrangular building made during the reign of Sultán Máhmud (1626-1656) for the use of travellers and lately (1883) turned into a jail.

West from Pir Amin's tomb, still part of Bijápur, is the hamlet of Takki or Afzulpur, called after Shiváji's victim Afzul Khán (1659) whose summer palace was in this quarter. The village itself has nothing of mark. Some little distance off is the family burial-ground of Afzul Khán, to which a curious story belongs. On a broad platform stretching along one side of what was once a large masonry pond or well, but which is now silted and embowered in mango and tamarind

trees, are rows of tombs, all very closely alike. Examination shows from the device carved on their tops that these are all women's tombs and that they are ranged in eleven rows of seven tombs each. All are of the same size and shape and the same distance apart, except one on the north-west corner which is a little larger. The Bijápur story of these tombs is that when in 1659 Afzul Khán volunteered to lead the fatal expedition against Shiváji the astrologers warned him that he would never return. On the strength of this warning he set his house in order by drowning his seventy-seven wives in the palace pond, burying their bodies in the pond bank, and adorning their graves with rows of neat tombs. The story may be false; there are no means of testing its truth. Still it is strange to find so many tombs of precisely the same pattern and apparently of the same age, in what was originally a part of the private grounds of Afzul Khán's palace. The legend explains their presence fairly well, though the character of its hero is somewhat out of keeping with Meadows Taylor's chivalrous tender-hearted Afzul Khán. Near Afzulpur are the remains of some fine reservoirs made as feeders to the Torvi water-course which was the main source of the city's water-supply. The four western suburbs Sháhápur, Zohrápur, Pir Amin's Darga, and Takki are remains of the great city of Sháhápur finished in 1557 by Ali Adil Sháh I. (1557-1580),[1] which, in the days of Bijápur's greatness, from the Bahmani Gate in the north stretched as far as the present village of Torvi and appears to have covered a larger area than Bijápur itself. Both towns were known under the general name of Bijápur, but Sháhápur seems to have been the centre of business. The population is stated at one time to have amounted to nearly a million, and judging by the wide area the streets and houses covered this is not improbable. For three miles from the

[1] Briggs' Ferishta, III. 116. According to Scott (Deccan, II. 72-73) Sháhápur was begun in 1510 and was improved by Ibráhim Adil Sháh I. (1534-1557).

walls of Bijápur the country is covered with the ruins of Sháhápur, and the city apparently spread still further, as the walls with which Ibráhim II. (1580-1626) intended to enclose the two cities are almost a mile beyond the modern village of Torvi. The greater portion of Sháhápur was destroyed by Máhmud Sháh in 1635, when he wasted the country round Bijápur to prevent the advance of the Moghals. Later on when the city underwent several sieges, it was no longer safe to live outside of the fortifications, and Sháhápur was gradually deserted. The present suburbs of Khudanpur and Fakirabad in the north-west are still known by the name of Sháhápur, though the houses are all comparatively modern, and the gateway in that quarter preserves the memory of the time when Sháhápur was a large and flourishing city not inferior to Bijápur.

To the west of Sháhápur lay the suburb of Nauraspur, which Ibráhim II. (1580-1626) wished to turn into a new capital, and about 1600 began to raise magnificent palaces and other buildings. Had his design been carried out, the new capital would have been much more picturesque than Bijápur. It is at the head of a considerable valley surrounded by lofty hills, which it was intended to fortify with a strong wall, part of which was built and is still standing. Even now Nauraspur is more striking than Bijápur whose uniform flatness is monotonous. Ibráhim failed to carry out his design. The astrologers warned him that the removal of the seat of government from Bijápur would ruin the state and he desisted. Still palaces and gardens were completed, and Nauraspur became the favourite hot-weather residence of the Bijápur court. The ruins attest the magnificence of the place. One of the buildings, the Sangit or Nauras Mehel, a splendid ruin, compares favourably with any Bijápur palace. The front arches are very fine, while the site of the palace is extremely picturesque with the Torvi hills in the back ground and in

front a valley stretching for miles full of mango and other trees.

However rich Bijápur might be in springs, so large a population could not wisely be left wholly dependent on the local supply. According to Ferishta, Ali Adil Sháh I. (1557-1580) was the first king who paid attention to the water-supply.[1] He built the large well in Sháhápur now known as Chánd's well and made channels to lead the water through the city. Ferishta's mention of water channels suggests that the under-ground Torvi channels were the work of Ali Adil Sháh I. not as is locally believed of Sultán Máhmud (1626-1656). The channel which brings water from Torvi, three miles west of Bijápur, and distributes it through the city, is a vast work of no slight engineering skill. A site was chosen on a stream about a mile above Torvi, and a masonry dam was built across the valley. From the lake thus formed, a masonry channel sunk in the bed of the stream carried the water to within half a mile of Torvi, and from there an under-ground water-course was hollowed, which passed under Torvi and was continued about a mile to Afzulpur where it seems to have ended in a large reservoir. Another small masonry pond or well at the base of a hill about 400 yards west of Torvi supplemented this supply. Here the water of some very powerful springs was gathered in a reservoir and carried along an underground channel to Torvi, where it joined the larger channel. The reservoir at Afzulpur seems to have been also fed by another pond made in the hills, half a mile south of that village, whose water was carried on arches over the intervening houses. Traces of this high level conduit remain where it crossed the old road to Torvi, and though nothing about it is locally known, the site of the pond and the direction in which the remains of the conduit seem to lead, leave no doubt that it was intended to supplement the Torvi water-supply. The remains of the reservoir at

[1] Briggs' Ferishta, III. 143.

Afzulpur show that it was a work of great size. The dam, which is now breached in two places, is nearly sixty feet high, a huge mass of masonry and earth, with curious chambers in the embankment. Below the main lake is another smaller reservoir to catch the overflow and supply the neighbouring parts of the city. From the main lake a canal, which at its start is about eight feet by six, carried the water under ground nearly three miles to the city. The cutting of this canal must have been a work of great difficulty, as in places it is sixty feet below the surface in solid rock. During part of its length it is lined with brick masonry, but in general the water flows along a rocky channel. Communication was kept with the surface by a number of vertical air shafts or *usvás* as they are locally called. These shafts which are about forty yards apart may be traced along the whole length of the canal as far as the Ibráhim Roza. There the line is lost. It is recovered in the middle of the city in a garden near the Two Sisters. Between this garden and the Ibráhim Roza the channel seems to have split in two, as a line of air shafts runs a good deal to the south towards the Jáma mosque. Some of these shafts are fitted with steps probably to aid in cleaning the channel which has now silted to such a depth that it is next to impossible to discover its true dimensions. Water still flows into the city by this channel. It supplies the Ásar Mehel reservoir and the outer moat of the Árk killáh, but this water can hardly come from Torvi unless there is another unknown underground connection, as the Afzulpur lake is dry. Probably the channel is filled from springs tapped on the way. Even in the part of the canal above Torvi, water seems still to flow from the spring at the head of the water-course, as it is not uncommon to find it bubbling through holes in the masonry and forming miniature fountains in the stream bed.

In later years (1580-1686), when the number of palaces

and the love of luxury and ease increased, it was felt that Torvi water-supply was not enough for the wants of the city. It was at too low a level, and could not bring water into many palaces or be used for fountains or gardens. For this a lake at a much higher level than the city was required. A site was chosen among the hills to the south of the city, and a large lake was formed by throwing a dam about a mile in length across the valley.[1] The lake thus formed covered an area of about 500 acres, and as it was much higher than Bijápur there was ample pressure to raise the water to the required height. The water was carried through a pipe 15″ in diameter cased in a mass of masonry 8′ by 6′ and at a depth varying from 15′ to 50′ below the surface, for two and a half miles to the Sháh Ganj or main distributary tower, a little to the south-east of the Ark-killáh. Along its course from the lake large square towers were built about 800 feet apart to relieve the pressure of the water and prevent the pipes bursting. Owing to the height of this lake above the city and the consequent pressure, the water in the towers inside of the walls was raised 20′ to 30′ above the ground. Some of the towers are very fine pieces of workmanship and many of them are still standing and show how the supply of water was conveyed all over the city from the Boli Gumbaz to Sháhápur. The largest supply of water was in the Árk-killáh, where two fine distributary towers are still standing. Here, as appears from the remains of fountains in the Sát Mazli, the water could be laid on some 30′ above ground. All were supplied with water on the ground-floor and all the palaces had small channels and reservoirs of running water. Countless fountains embowered in trees played in every quarter,

[1] Below the embankment of this lake are the remains of a second lake which from the traces of conduits was apparently also connected with the city. Nothing is now known in Bijápur regarding it. It is not improbable that is was the work of Ali Adil Sháh I. who, according to Ferishta, brought water into the city. The conduits run in the direction of the Jáma mosque, and as Ali began that building it is not unlikely that he also provided it with water.

and fragrant flowers filled the air with their perfume. Few places can have been more beautiful than this Árk-killáh with its stately palaces and grounds, and the air full of the coolness and the flow of water.

To Sultán Máhmud (1626-1656) Bijápur owed most of its comfort and luxury. Other kings adorned the city with buildings, but Máhmud by making the Begam Lake which he named after his queen Jahán Begam, in 1653, made gardens and fountains possible all over the city. For this and for other reasons Máhmud's name is locally in such high repute that every work of importance, regarding which there is doubt, is attributed to him. Besides the Begam Lake, he is said to have made the Torvi water-course; and though from the works he did take in hand, it might be safe to attribute this water-course to him, still, considering his comparatively short reign of thirty years, during nearly two-thirds of which he was engaged in war with the Moghals, it is improbable that he could have made his own mausoleum and the palaces in the Árk-killáh, nearly completed the Jáma mosque, constructed the Begam Lake, and in addition have undertaken the vast labour of cutting the underground Torvi water-channel. It is more likely that, as stated by Ferishta, the city is indebted to Ali Adil Sháh I. (1557-1580) for the Torvi works. Still Sultán Máhmud did enough to raise above question his claim to be considered the greatest of the Bijápur kings, a monarch whose energy, perseverance, and genius would have dignified any time or country. During the 1876-77 famine the Begam Lake which was silted was taken in hand. A dam was built and the whole of the water-course and the twelve water-towers between it and the Asar Mehel have been thoroughly cleaned out. Its weak point is the smallness of the catchment area.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE PRESENT NIZAM OF HYDERABAD

Abid Kuli Khan (killed at siege of Golconda.)
† 1687

- Firoz Jung (Died as Subadar of Guzerat.)
  † 1710
  - 1. Chin Kulich Khan Asaf Jah
    1669—1748
    - Ghazi-ud-Din
    - 2. Nasir Jung
      1750
    - 4. Salabut Jung
      1750—1761
    - Asad Jung
    - Basalat Jung
    - 5. Nizam Ali
      1761—1803
      - 6. Sikander Shah
        1803—1829
        - 7. Nasir-ud-Daula
          1829—1857
          - 8. Afsul-ud-Daula
            1857—1869
            - 9. Mir Mahbup Ali Khan
              1869
    - Daughter
      - 3. Muzaffar Jung
        1750

1. Founder of dynasty.
2. Killed before Gingee.
3. Placed on the throne by Dupleix, but killed in an affray at Cuddapah on his return from Pondicherry.
4. Deposed and eventually killed by his brother Nizam Ali.

NOTE.—Descent is claimed from Khalif Abu Bekr on the male, and from the Prophet, on the female side. Abid Kuli Khan had been Kazi of Bokhara, and came to Delhi about 1658.

Messrs. LUZAC & Co.'s

Publications Concerning "British India, Persia, Burma and the Far East."

Publishers to the India Office, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the University of Chicago, etc.

ÁNANDAS'RAMA SANSKRIT SERIES.

EDITED by Pandits of the Ánandás'rama. Published by Mahádeva Chimnáji Apte, B.A., L.L.B., Pleader High Court, and Fellow of the University of Bombay. Nos. 1 to 27. In 32 Vols. Royal 8vo. Price, complete set, £10 10*s*. Single Numbers at different prices.

ATHARVA-VEDA.

HYMNS OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA. Translated with a Popular Commentary by R. T. H. GRIFFITH, M. A., C. I. E. Vol. I. 8vo. Cloth. pp. xviii., 520. 7*s*. 6*d*.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF BOOKS ON AFRICA AND THE EAST.

PUBLISHED in England between the Meetings of the Eighth Oriental Congress at Stockholm in 1889 and the Ninth Oriental Congress in London in 1892. Systematically arranged, with Preface and Author's Index. By C. G. LUZAC. 12mo. pp. 79. 1*s*.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF BOOKS ON AFRICA AND THE EAST.

PUBLISHED in England between the Meetings of the Ninth Oriental Congress in London, September, 1892, and the Tenth Oriental Congress at Geneva, September, 1894. Systematically arranged, with Preface and Author's Index. By C. G. LUZAG. 12mo. pp. 90. 1*s*.

46, GT. RUSSELL St. (opposite the British Museum, W. C.)

BUDDHAGHOSUPPATTI; OR, HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF THE RISE AND CAREER OF BUDDAGHOSA.

EDITED and Translated by JAMES GRAY, Professor of Pali, Rangoon College. Two parts in one. Demy 8vo. Cloth. pp. viii., 75 and 36. 6*s*.

CAPPELLER (CARL).

A SANSKRIT-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Based upon the St. Petersburg Lexicons. Royal 8vo. Cloth. pp. viii., 672. (Published £1 1*s*.) 15*s*.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE.

With Index, Vol. I. in two Parts. Post 8vo. Cloth. pp. 567 and 207. 10*s*. 6*d*.

CUST (R. N.)

ESSAY ON THE PREVAILING METHODS OF THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD.
8vo. Cloth. pp. x., 296. 5*s*.

CUST (Dr. R. N.)

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS. Fourth Series. From 1861 to 1895. 8vo. pp. xxv., 634. Paper covers, 16*s*. Cloth. 17*s*. 6*d*.

CUST (R. H.)

ESSAY ON THE COMMON FEATURES WHICH APPEAR IN ALL FORMS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF. Post 8vo. Cloth. pp. xxiv., 194. 5*s*.

EDKINS (JOSEPH).

CHINA'S PLACE IN PHILOLOGY. An attempt to show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a common origin. Demy 8vo. Cloth. pp. xxiii., 403. (Published 10*s*. 6*d*.) 7*s*. 6*d*.

EDKINS (JOSEPH).

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE CHINESE CHARACTERS. Royal 8vo. Boards. pp. xix., 211, 101. (Published at 18*s*.) 12*s*. 6*d*.

EITEL (E. J.)

EUROPE IN CHINA. THE HISTORY OF HONGKONG. From the Beginning to the year 1882. 8vo. Cloth. pp. vii., 575. With Index. Price 14*s*.

GRIBBLE (J. D. B.)

A HISTORY OF THE DECCAN. With Numerous Illustrations, Plates, Portraits, Maps and Plans. Vol. I. Price 21*s*.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY (THE).

A JOURNAL of Oriental Research in Archæology, Epigraphy, etc., etc. Edited by R. C. TEMPLE. Annual subscription. £1 16*s*. Post free.

JÄSCHKE (H. A.)

A TIBETAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. With special reference to the prevailing Dialects; to which is added an English-Tibetan Vocabulary. Royal 8vo. Cloth. pp. xxii., 671. £1 10*s*.

The Tibetan in Roman and Tibetan Characters.

JINALANKARA, OR "EMBELLISHMENTS OF BUDDHA."

By BUDDHARAKKHITA. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Translation, by JAMES GRAY. Two parts in one. Demy 8vo. Cloth. 6*s*.

JOHNSTON (C.)

USEFUL SANSKRIT NOUNS AND VERBS. In English letters. Compiled by CHARLES JOHNSTON, Bengal Civil Service, Dublin University Sanskrit Prizeman, India Civil Service Sanskrit Prizeman. Small 4to. Boards. pp. 30. 2*s*. 6*d*.

JUDSON'S BURMESE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

REVISED and Enlarged by ROBERT C. STEVENSON, Burma Commission. Royal 8vo. Half-bound. pp. xiv., 1188, 6. £1 10*s*. net.

JUDSON (A.)

ENGLISH-BURMESE DICTIONARY. Fourth Edition. Royal 8vo. Half-bound. pp. 930. £1 5*s.* net.

KITTEL (REV. F.)

A KANNADA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By Rev. F. KITTEL, B.G.E.M. Royal 8vo. Half-bound. pp. l., 1572. £1 12*s.* net.

LUZAC'S ORIENTAL LIST.

CONTAINING Notes and News on, and a Bibliographical List of, all new Publications on Africa and the East. Published monthly. Annual subscription, 3*s.* Vols. I. to VI, are to be had (with Index, half-bound) at 5*s.* each Vol.

MIRKHOND.

THE RAUZAT-US-SAFA; OR, GARDEN OF PURITY. Translated from the Original Persian by E. REHATSEK. Edited by F. F. ARBUTHNOT. Vols. I. to V. 10*s.* each Vol.

Vols. I. and II. contain: The Histories of Prophets, Kings, and Khalifs.
Vols. III. and IV. contain: The Life of Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah.
Vols. V. contains: The Lives of Abú Bakr, O'mar, O'thmán, and A'li, the four immediate successors of Muhammad the Apostle.

MOLESWORTH (J. T.)

ASSISTED by G. & T. CANDY. A Dictionary, Marathi and English. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged by J. T. MOLESWORTH. Large 4to. pp. xxx., 920. (Published £2 5*s.*) Reduced to 16*s.*

MONIER-WILLIAMS (SIR MONIER).

INDIAN WISDOM; or, Examples of the Religious, Philosophical, and Ethical Doctrines of the Hindus, with a brief History of the chief Departments of Sanskrit Literature, and some account of the Past and Present Condition of India, Moral and Intellectual. By Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, K.C.I.E., M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Oxford. Fourth Edition. Enlarged and Improved. Post 8vo. Cloth. pp. 575. £1 1*s.*

MÜLLER (F. MAX.)

ADDRESS delivered at the Opening of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London, September 5th, 1892. 8vo. pp. 66. 1*s*. 6*d*.

ROSTHORN (A. DE)

ON THE TEA CULTIVATION IN WESTERN SSŬCH'UAN AND THE TEA TRADE WITH TIBET VIA TACHIENLU. 8vo. pp. 40. With Sketch Map. 2*s*.

STEIN (M. A.)

CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MSS. in the Raghunata Temple Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. 4to. Cloth. pp. 423. 12*s*.

SUHRILLEKHA (THE).

OR "FRIENDLY LETTER"; written by Lung Shu (Nâgârjuna), and addressed to King Sadvaha. Translated from the Chinese Edition of I-Tsing, by the late REV. SAMUEL BEAL, with the Chinese Text. 8vo. pp. 51, xiii., 5*s*.

TAWNEY (C. H.)

THE KATHAKOÇA; OR, TREASURY OF STORIES. Translated from Sanskrit Manuscripts. With Appendix, containing Notes, by Professor ERNEST LEUMANN. 8vo. Cloth. pp. xxiii., 260. 10*s*.

TEMPLE (MAJOR R. C.)

NOTES ON ANTIQUITIES IN RAMANNADESA. The Talaing Country of Burma. 4to. pp. 40, with 24 Plates and a Map. 18*s*.

T'OUNG PAO.

ARCHIVES POUR SERVIR À L'ÉTUDE DE L'HISTOIRE, des Langues, de la Géographie et de l'Ethnographie de l'Asie Orientale. (Chine, Japon, Corée, Indo-Chine, Asie Centrale et Malaisie). Rédigées par MM. G. SCHLEGEL et H. CORDIER. Annual subscription (5 numbers yearly). £1.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

(HELD IN LONDON 5th TO 12th SEPTEMBER, 1892.) Edited by E. DELMAR MORGAN. 2 Vols. Royal 8vo. Cloth. £1 15*s.*

Vol. I. contains: Indian and Aryan Sections. £1 1*s.*
Vol. II. contains: Semitic, Egypt and Africa, Geographical, Archaic Greece and the East, Persia and Turkey, China, Central Asia and the Far East, Australasia, Anthropology and Mythology Sections. £1 1*s.*

USHA.

THE DAWN. A Vedic Periodical, edited by PANDIT SATYA VRATA SAMASRAMI. 8vo. Published monthly. Annual subscription. £1 1*s.*

VALMIKI.

THE RAMAYAN OF VALMIKI. Translated into English Verse, by R. T. H. GRIFFITH, M.A., C.I.E. Complete in one Volume. 8vo. Cloth. pp. ix., 576. 7*s.* 6*d.*

VIZIANAGRAM SANSKRIT SERIES.

UNDER the superintendence of ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., Oxon, Principal Sanskrit College, Benares. Different Prices.

WEST (SIR RAYMOND).

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA; its Position and Claims. 8vo. pp. 61. 1*s.*